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The Dance Scene of Wa'tetkhethor: An Art Historical Approach to the Role of Dance in Old Kingdom Funerary Ritual

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Art History

by

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The thesis of Jonathan Van Lepp is approved.

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1987

To my grandmother

Edna Meents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
CHAPTER I	Preface	1
CHAPTER II	Introduction	4
CHAPTER III	Description and Analysis	10
3.1	Description	10
3.2	Directional Reading of B3-N	15
3.3	Sequentiality	17
3.4	Nature of the Dance	19
3.5	Name of the Dance	20
3.6	Location of the Dance Within the Funeral Procession	21
3.7	Conclusion	23
CHAPTER IV	Analysis of the Text	25
CHAPTER V	Pictorial Analysis	46
5.1	Spatial Arrangement	46
5.2	Spatial Movement	51
5.3	Significance of Dance Movements and Gestures	52
CHAPTER VI	Conclusion	75
CHAPTER VII	Bibliography and Abbreviations	77

LIST OF FIGURES

1 Plan of the Mastaba of Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka I*, figure 1; author's drawing)

2 Dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor, chamber B3-Mereruka; north wall (author's drawing)

3 Plaster repairs; hatch marks show hieroglyphs carved in plaster (author's drawing)

4 *msit* sign originally carved as *ms* corrected by paint (author's drawing)

5 Hair bob corrected by paint; dotted line shows correction by paint (author's drawing)

6 Dance scene from Wa'tetkhethor (author's drawing); Dance scene from Mereruka, chamber A10; east wall (Duell, *Mereruka I*, figure 87; author's drawing)

7 Funeral procession of Qar (Simpson, *Qar*, figure 24; courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

8 Dance scene from Iy-Mery (Smith, *History*, figure 75; author's drawing); Dance scene from Ibi (Wilkinson, *A Popular Account*, woodcut 153; author's drawing)

9 Boys playing jumping game; from Ptahhotep (Davies, *Ptahhotep I*, plate XXIII; author's drawing); Drawing from photograph of Arab boys playing same game (Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and its Excavations*, figure 120; author's drawing)

10 Siege scene; from Kaemhest (Quibell, *Saqqara*, frontispiece; author's drawing); Reconstruction of town walls (author's drawing)

11 90° projection of clappers (author's drawing); Resultant spatial arrangement (author's drawing)

12 Offering bearers carrying bed; from Ramose (Davies, *Ramose*, plate XXVII; author's drawing)

13 Spatial arrangement for B3-N dancers 11 through 17 (author's drawing)

14 Spatial directions; X = horizontal movement; Y = vertical movement; Z = three dimensional movement (author's drawing)

15 Parallel lines and lines of axis; Resultant schematic diagram between selected dancing pair from Wa'tetkhethor, Iy-Mery, and hieroglyph for gold (author's drawing)

16 Original diagrammatic notations; from unknown tomb at Giza (*LD II*, plate 65; author's drawing)

17 Dancers from Akhethotep in the Louvre, (Smith, *History*, figure 76; author's drawing)

18 Lustration scene from stela of *Nḫt* in the Louvre (Gayet, *Stèle de la XII dynastie*, plate C15; author's drawing)

19 Comparison between the B3-N dancer 13/14 and the *3ḫt* hieroglyph (author's drawing)

20 *Ḥry-ḥbt* priest from tomb of Qar (Simpson, *Qar*, figure 24; author's drawing); Dancer 17 from Wa'tetkhethor (author's drawing)

21 Parallel lines and lines of axis; Resultant schematic diagram between Dancer 24 and B3-bird (author's drawing)

22 Dancers 24 and 25 from Wa'tetkhethor (author's drawing); "Adoration of the B3" from New Kingdom private tomb at Thebes (Reed, *Rebel in the Soul*, page 14; author's drawing)

23 Parallel lines and lines of axis; Resultant schematic diagram between dancers 26 and 27 and hieroglyph for tomb (author's drawing)

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Dance Scene of Wa'tetkhethor:
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Old Kingdom Funerary Ritual

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The art of the Old Kingdom has numerous dance scenes associated with burial. Their wide variety in both portrayal and spatial arrangement within funeral scenes have neither added to nor subtracted from our present understanding of ancient Egyptian funerary dance.

Some of the uncertain nature of the role of dance in Old Kingdom funerary ritual can be made clear by the dance of Wa'tetkhethor.

The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor is complex and multifaceted and contains elements not found in other dance scenes.

The visual messages contained in this dance scene are initially very ambiguous and complex. The understanding of this dance begins with the

perception of a dynamic interrelationship between text and visual image. When both are present in a pictorial scene, each is supplemented by its association with the other.

The composition of this scene is further divided into its elemental components. Certain representational devices were used by the Egyptians to transfer their world view into art. The technique of rabattement was used as a means of explaining spatial relationships between figures and, consequently, their spatial movement within a three-dimensional plane. Symbolism was used to indicate the crucial aspects necessary for transference of information.

The dancers of Wa'tetkhethor indicate by their motions and gestures various aspects associated with the funeral procession and ritual. The dance symbolically reenacts for the mourners the funeral procession and rituals performed for Wa'tetkhethor.

Chapter I

PREFACE

In 1979, the late Dr. Alexander Badawy asked me whether the dance scene found in chamber B3 of the mastaba of Mereruka was one dance scene or a compilation of several dance scenes.[1] I responded by saying the dance scene represented one dance. Since only the top two registers contained clappers, the dancers in the remaining three registers had to receive rhythm from these clappers (fig. 2).[2] The following work is the result of this conversation.

In the initial stages of work, I attempted to reconstruct what I felt was a complete ancient Egyptian dance. As work progressed I began to see that unimagined aspects were contained in the dance of Wa'tetkhethor. Seemingly, each movement and gesture of the dancers had a significance that related to the funeral procession and its associated rituals. Subsequently, the emphasis of this work was changed from a reconstruction of the dance to the

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[1]Daressy designated this room B3 in his publication, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, 1898, plan. For the sake of accuracy I have added to Daressy's designation the term 'N' to designate north, the location of this scene within the room. In the remaining text the dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor will be described often as B3-N. This was the designation used by Badawy in our season's work on this room. The purpose was to keep an accurate account of the location of the scene in relation to other scenes in this room.

[2]Badawy, in *Ankhmahor*, 1976, 40, prefers to see several dances rather than several movements. The distinction between dance and movement will be fully examined later in the text.

examination of the correlation between dance elements and Old Kingdom mortuary ceremony.

As with any scholarly undertaking many people have been involved in this project. Without their learned opinions and moral support the following work would not have progressed beyond a rudimentary level of understanding. First and foremost, I wish to thank the late Dr. John Callender who has given me many insights towards the completion of this project. Secondly, I wish to thank Mr. Charles Raye with whom I spent many hours discussing various aspects contained within this work. I also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Antonio Loprieno who greatly aided me in the translation of this text. My committee chair Dr. Susan B. Downey has given her time and support in ways which mere words can not express my appreciation. Dr. Irene Bierman also deserves special thanks for her valuable suggestions to an initially rough and very confused idea.

I originally used a text obtained from a wall rubbing that I myself made and a photograph found in Wreszinski's, *Atlas III*, plate 29. The initial textual copy was further corrected on a trip to Egypt in 1981. In spite of all my precautions the text was still proven to be inadequate. Fortunately, the late Dr. Callender took a trip to Egypt in the winter of 1984. He and three other scholars went to the site of this dance scene. The text I had given him was corrected by these scholars. To these people: the late Dr. John Callender; Abdul Aziz Sadek Fakhmi (representative of the Center of Documentation in Egypt); Muhamedd Ibrihim (Inspector of Antiquities at Saqqara); and Cynthia Sheikholeslami, I am very grateful. Some of the hieroglyphs in figure 2 are drawn from photographs taken by this group.

There are others -- in particular Dr. Cathleen Keller and the dance expertise of Ms. Young Ae Park -- who have contributed in some part to this study. Their efforts are not in any way forgotten, nor unappreciated. I am also grateful to Dr. W. K. Simpson who graciously allowed me to reproduce figure 24 from *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu* which I have represented as figure 7, Funeral procession of Qar. Lastly, I wish to thank the late Dr. Alexander Badawy for asking the question that instigated this study.

Chapter II

INTRODUCTION

The art of the Old Kingdom has numerous dance scenes associated with burial. Their wide variety in both portrayal and spatial arrangement within funeral scenes have neither added to nor subtracted from our present understanding of ancient Egyptian funerary dance.

Some of the uncertain nature of the role of dance in Old Kingdom funerary ritual can be made clear by the dance of Wa'tetkhethor. The dancers of Wa'tetkhethor indicate by their motions and gestures the various aspects of the funeral procession and ritual.[3] Apparently the dance symbolically reenacts for the mourners the funeral procession and rituals performed for Wa'tetkhethor.

The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor is located in her section of the mastaba of Mereruka at Saqqara (fig. 1). This tomb is part of a larger cemetery complex designated by Firth and Gunn as the Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.[4]

The mastaba of Mereruka has been dated to the reign of Teti (ca. 2345 BC.) and is one of the largest known tombs in Egypt. It has 32 rooms which

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[3]Two related dance scenes show these dance movements and gestures relate to funeral items; Iy-Mery in Smith, *History*, fig. 75; *LD II*, 52; Ibi in Klebs, *Relief NR*, fig. 135; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi*, pl. 98.

[4]*Excavations at Saqqara, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.* The grid arrangement of these cemeteries probably emulates the layout of the previous IV Dynasty cemeteries at Giza.

were divided by Daressy into 21 'A' rooms for Mereruka, 6 'B' rooms for Wa'tetkhethor, and 5 'C' rooms for their son Meryteti.[5] Entrance to the 'B' complex is through a doorway in the west wall of room A1 (fig. 1).

The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor is one of the most complex dance scenes known to exist from pharaonic Egypt. In five registers female dancers are arranged in a wide variety of dance movements and positions (fig. 2). This variance in dance movement is unusual in portrayal of dancers in the Old Kingdom[6] and later periods.

The visual messages contained in this dance scene are initially very ambiguous and complex. The understanding of this dance, begins with the perception of a dynamic interrelationship between text and visual image. When both are present in a pictorial scene each one is supplemented by its association with the other.

The composition of this scene can be further divided into its elemental components. Certain representational devices were used by the Egyptians to transfer their view of the world into art. The technique of rabattement was used as a way of explaining spatial relationships between figures, and consequently, their spatial movement within a three dimensional plane.[7]

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[5]This division was subsequently used by the Oriental Institute in their publication, *The Mastaba of Mereruka.* This latter publication does not include the complexes of Wa'tetkhethor or Meryteti.

[6]A majority of dance scenes have dancers in the same or similar dance position; c.f., Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, fig. 51; Badawy, Kagemni, fig. 3; Hassan, *Giza VI*, figs. 83, 99.

[7]Rabattement is the transposition of a three dimensional image into a two dimensional representation by projecting the image 90 degrees.

Symbolism, often very subtle in Egyptian art, was used to indicate the crucial aspects necessary for transference of information.

The Egyptian society was, in many aspects, very conservative and therefore, resistent to change. However, this conservative trait does not appear to arise until after the Old Kingdom. The Old Kingdom was a formative period in a state of constant flux. Social changes, such as the usurpation of power by the nobility, can be seen in the archaeological record.

The VI Dynasty seems to be the epitome of social change. The formalized past was being revised in order to meet the present needs of a rapidly developing society. Old standardizations were either deleted or modified while new ideas were methodically added.[8] The peculiarities associated with the dance of Wa'tetkhethor reflect both linguistic and artistic endeavor to modernize archaic traditions.

The first published mention of B3-N was in 1898 in G. Daressy's, *Le Mastaba de Mera.* His publication is confined to the brief description, "a dance scene consisting of five registers."[9] No attempt to decipher or comment on this scene was made until 1919 when A. Erman translated a portion of the text in *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches.*[10] E. Brunner-Traut in *Der Tanz im alten Ägytpen*, included Erman's text and provided portions not previously published. Unfortunately neither attempted a translation of the text. It was not until eighteen years after Brunner-Traut's publication that an attempt to analyze B3-N was made. H.

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[8]For changes in language, c.f., Wilson, *JNES 13*, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Inscriptions," 243-264. For changes in art, c.f., Smith, *History*, 205ff.

[9]*Mera*, 558.

[10]*APAW 15*, (1918), 60-61

Hickmann in "*La Danse aux Miroirs*,"[11] tried to discover musical rhythm by examining the choreography of various dance scenes. He sought to incorporate the textual evidence with the pictorial representation in order to establish the meaning of specific dance movements.[12]

Later in 1961, E. Drioton translated a partial text of B3-N. Some it was from the previous publications while other portions were new additions. Drioton preferred, incorrectly, to see the inscriptions of B3-N as a love poem.[13] In 1981, I had the good fortune to speak with Henri Wild who had worked on B3-N in 1947.[14] Wild and I found our observations of the text in this wall scene did not agree with segments of Drioton's text. Some of the hieroglyphic signs published in Drioton's article simply do not occur in this wall scene. In light of this, caution should be used when working with Drioton's article. Since 1961, very little has been published about B3-N. I am aware of only one post 1961 publication; Vandier, *Md'A IV*, 414-416, which discusses B3-N in any detail.

The first, and presently only published photograph of this wall scene was by W. Wreszinski in 1927 in his *Atlas*, volume III, pl. 29.[15]

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[11]*BIE 37*, (1956), 151-190,

[12]Though independently developed, Hickmann's methodology, in this case, is surprisingly similar to mine.

[13]*Revue d'Egyptologie* 13, 1961, 139-141.

[14]At present he has not published any of his results.

[15]Vandier in his supplemental plates to vol IV of *M d'A*, fig. 217, has reproduced this photograph, though it is more difficult to read than the one found in Wreszinski's publication. In my own research I have been unable to find some of the details present in Wreszinski's photograph and believe that some of this earlier evidence has eroded. This erosion is most evident in certain hieroglyphic characters.

Wa'tetkhethor (good name Seshshet) was the daughter of a king. This is evident by the repeated inscription *nsw s3t n(y)t ḫt.f* "king's daughter of his body" found in many of the rooms belonging to Mereruka and in the rooms belonging to Wa'tetkhethor proper.[16] Nims has concluded in his article, "Some Notes on the Family of Mereruka,"[17] that the designation "king's eldest daughter of his body"[18] may not be correct. He prefers, as I do, "king's daughter."

There are certain indications which show Teti was the father of Wa'tetkhethor.[19] Firth and Gunn deduced from their work on this mastaba that it had been constructed during the reign of Teti.[20] The numerous titles of Mereruka and the location of his tomb just north of the pyramid of Teti indicate he was a very important person. As such, Teti may have followed the precedent established by a former king in the inscription of Ptahshepses, "His Majesty gave to him the king's eldest daughter, Matkha as his wife."[21] It would have been politically intelligent for him to give Mereruka one of his daughters as a way of strengthening their alliance.[22] In addition, the rooms

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[16]c.f., *Duell, Mereruka II*, pl. 150.

[17]*JAOS 58*, 645-646.

[18]Duell, *Mereruka I*, 3.

[19]However, it can not be firmly established whether she was the daughter of Teti or some predecessor (Duell, *Mereruka I*, 3).

[20]Firth and Gunn, *TPC I*, 1926, 109. This was also the conclusion reached by the Oriental Institute. Duell, *Mereruka I*, 5.

[21]Breasted, *AR I*, 257.

[22]Marriage of a daughter of the king as a means of solidifying a political alliance definitely occurred during the reign of Pepi I. Pepi I married two women named Ankhnesmerire. They belonged to a politically important family at Abydos. Each of these women bore a son who became the future kings Merenre and Pepi II. Their brother Djau was given as a wife

of Wa'tetkhethor do not have any cartouche earlier than Teti's. If Wa'tetkhethor was the daughter of an earlier king his cartouche should be present in her complex.

As a member of royalty, Wa'tetkhethor held various religious titles associated with her social position. One of these titles was the highly prestigious "Priestess of Hathor."[23]

Even though several children are portrayed in the 'A' complex of Mereruka, only the son Meryteti and the daughter Ibneitnub are represented in her 'B' complex.[24]

Wa'tetkhethor probably died during the reign of Pepi I. His cartouche on the doorway leading to chamber 5 is the last king represented in her complex.[25]

The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor is complex and multifaceted and contains elements not found in other dance scenes. The methodology developed in this paper will be an attempt to decipher this scene and thereby increase our knowledge of the role of dance in Old Kingdom funerary ritual.

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one of the daughters of Pepi I.

[23]Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 150. Her relationship to Hathor may explain the preeminence of the dance scene in her tomb complex. Hathor is often associated with dancing.

[24]Duell, *Mereruka I*, 1938, 3.

[25]Daressy, *Mera*, 557.

Chapter III

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

The initial V Dynasty disordered arrangement of funeral scenes was apparently dictated more by the need for representation than by any conceptual composition. Apparently the inherent confusion existing in this type of portrayal led to the development of narrative in the VI Dynasty. The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor, occurring at the beginning of this period, was a formative attempt in this new endeavor.

3.1 DESCRIPTION

Chamber B3 is a long and rather narrow room oriented on a north/south axis (fig. 1). The dance scene is carved on the north wall. The east and west walls portray female offering bearers bringing produce from the various towns and estates of Wa'tetkhethor, while the south wall has a butchering scene.[26]

The relationship between these wall scenes may constitute some spatial significance since dancing, the bringing of offerings, and butchering are all elements of the funerary ritual.[27]

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[26]For a published description of room B3, see Duell, *Mereruka I*, 1-2.

[27]In the comparative dance scene in Mereruka A10 there is a similar spatial relationship. The dance scene is on the east wall. The north and south walls represent presentation of offerings by servants. The only variance to the spatial relationship of B3 is found on the west wall.

The north wall of chamber B3 consists of five registers of female dancers and a representation of Wa'tetkhethor seated on a chair above the door lintel. She is watching the dance performance.[28]

The distance from last existing register to the top of the head of Wa'tetkhethor has space for only one register.[29] Old Kingdom dance scenes have almost invariably musicians accompanying the dancers. They are located on either side of the dance or in the register above or below the scene. A similar scene of dancers from Mereruka A10 has musicians in the register above.[30] The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor does not have musicians. Therefore, one surmises that the missing register probably contained the musicians.

A dado is at the bottom of this scene. It is painted in a thin black line, wide red band, thin black line, wide yellow band pattern.[31]

The dance scene, excluding the dado, measures in height 1.47 m. by 1.00 m. in width. Register I -- top to bottom -- is in a ruinous state.[32] As a consequence, measurement for this register had to be taken from the top of the head of the best preserved clapper. It is assumed that the head is, as it is in the remaining registers, very close to the registral line. The width of

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[28]This doorway leads to chamber B5 which contains the false door and offering table.

[29]personal measurements

[30]Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 87.

[31]This dado is consistent with those found in other parts of the mastaba complex, as well as those found in the neighboring tombs of Ti, Ptahhotep, Ankhmahor and Kagemni.

[32]The previous publications of B3-N have register I at the bottom and register V at the top. This is in opposition to the direction that I have numbered the registers. The previously established direction of this wall scene has been changed in order to correspond with the proper directional reading.

this register was measured at 28cm. Measurements for the remaining registers are: register II, 30.5cm.; register III, 30.31cm.; register IV, 28.5cm.; and register V, 28.5cm. The clappers are approximately 28.5cm. tall. Measurement for the dancers was somewhat difficult because some are in bent positions. Therefore, only those who are relatively vertical were measured. Their height ranges from 25 to 28cms.

Composition was an important consideration to the Egyptian artist. Even though the contours of the bent positions of dancers 7 and 8 exceed the parameters of the other dancing figures (30cm.), he fashioned them to appear proportionately as congruent members of the composition. If this had not been done there would have been a visual compositional imbalance. By elongating these two dancers, the artist made their height compatible with the height of the surrounding dance figures.

The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor is composed of four identical female clappers and thirty-one female dancers arranged in five registers. All of the dancers except 13, 14, 18, 19, 20 and 21, are in varied dance positions and gestures (fig. 2).

The portrayal of the clappers is typical for the Old Kingdom.[33] They have short cropped hair and long transparent dresses that reach to their ankles.[34] Their hands are raised and placed together in front of their bodies. They are clapping the rhythm for the dancers.[35]

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[33]c.f., *LD II*, 36c, 52 and Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 60.

[34]The transparency of the dresses can be determined by the legs of some of the better preserved clappers showing beneath the dress.

[35]c.f., Newberry, *BH II*, pl. VII; *LD II*, 52, 53, 61, 101; Simpson, *Qar*, pl. XXIV; Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 130; Davies, D. el G. II, pl. VII. Although some scenes do show clappers using sticks and other instruments, instruments do not seem to be commonly used.

The dancers of this scene are attired in the typical dance costume of the Old Kingdom.[36] They have a long haired tress that ends in a ball and wear only a short skirt and a collared necklace. The skirt extends from the waist to near mid thigh and is tied in front by a belt. This attire is presumably for freedom of movement.

The scene is carved in very low relief on limestone. In some cases, the relief is so lightly engraved it can be considered scratch marks.[37]

Some of the dancers still retain the original paint. This is best preserved on dancers 14, 15, 16 and 17 in register III. The skin was painted a light orange color.[38] The hair is painted black and is tied in a tress which ends in a orange colored hair ball. It is particularly distinguishable in dancers 15, 16, and 17. This orange colored hair ball probably symbolizes the sun.[39] The necklace worn by the dancers is painted yellow.

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[36]Ibid.

[37]Scratch marks are an indication that the wall scene was completed much more quickly than was originally planned. A possible explanation for such a rapid completion of the scene would have been the untimely death of Wa'tetkhethor. This conjecture gains some credence when one compares other wall scenes in the 'B' complex. Rooms B1 and B5 have very fine carved wall scenes, as do the west and east walls of B3. Only B3-N and B3-S have the so-called 'scratch mark' carvings which are quickly rendered by the sculptor in stone. Since a fine sculptural expertise is demonstrated on other walls of this complex the argument of technical incompetence as an explanation seems invalid.

[38]Schäfer in his *Principles*, writes, "women (had) a yellow (the general color),... which appears in many gradations of tone" (1974: 71). Although yellow is the general color for a woman's skin, a perusal of women in the color reproductions in Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles (1983)*, shows orange tones were often used to represent the skin of women.

[39]See Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus III*, 1975, 228-229; Assman, *Liturgische Lieder*, 1969, 129, 171, 328. Although 'gold' is the color cited in the these examples, the artist's palette contained only yellow, or variations of

The background contains fragmentary traces of black paint. If the background was originally painted black, the hair of the dancers would have been indistinguishable from the background. It follows that the background must have originally been painted some other color. The most likely color is blue.[40] Due to the mineral pigments used in blue it has oxidized into black.[41] The background was probably blue since it imitates the sky and funerary dancing generally occurred outdoors.[42]

During the carving of this scene some technical errors occurred. To correct these mistakes beige colored plaster was applied to the lighter colored limestone.[43] Was this application due to the stone cracking and chipping during carving, or was it for correction of errors made by the sculptor? The plaster is generally applied in long irregular vertical or horizontal sections (fig. 3).[44] This indicates fractures of the stone. If carving corrections were being made the plaster would be applied in small regular spaces. When the scene was painted these repairs were hidden.[45]

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that color. The atmospheric and climatic conditions in Egypt often causes the sun to be orange. This is especially true at sunrise.

[40]The east and west walls of this room have a blue background.

[41]In some instances blue pigments have been proven to oxidize into black; Lucas *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 1948, 395. Apparently the paint mixture used on B3-N was different from the mixture used on walls B3-E/W, since the latter two walls still retain good blue coloring.

[42]c.f., Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24; Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 130.

[43]Modern repairs to this scene have been made with grey colored cement.

[44]The application of plaster can be seen in register IV. Register IV has part of the inscription of line 4.8 carved in plaster. This includes the *k* in *mk*, the bottom half of the sedge plant and quail chick, and the *t* consonant.

[45]The hair ball of dancer 2 still retains traces of orange paint over the plaster surface.

Paint was also used to make corrective changes in the carving.[46] The sign for 'birth' in register III was originally carved as the figure of a pregnant woman.[47] The , *ms* sign was later added in paint (fig. 4). Another correction was made on the hair ball of dancer 12. Originally the hair ball was carved too close to the *msit* sign. This mistake was covered over with blue paint and the hair bob was painted in at a more vertical angle (fig. 5).[48]

The standards established in Old Kingdom wall scenes show the dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor is not a masterpiece. Even so, it possesses a vitality not generally found in Egyptian scenes. The portrayal gives one a sense of frenzied activity. The technical problems encountered in this picture show procedural stages involved in the formation of wall scenes. We can see the various problems encountered by the artist in the completion of this scene and the techniques he used to solve these problems.

3.2 DIRECTIONAL READING OF B3-N

Conceptually, there is no visual break from register to succeeding register. Each dancer is attired in the same dress and hair style and the carving technique is consistent for all of the dancing figures. The dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor visually represents only one dance. If more than one dance were intended there should be some apparent variation between the registers,

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[46]Corrections by paint, like the scratch mark carving, indicates a rushed completion of this scene.

[47]Gardiner, *Gr.*, sign list B2.

[48]A few traces show the hieroglyphic text was probably painted in the usual variety of colors.

or at the very least, between the dancers themselves.[49]

The dance scene of B3-N is void of clappers in the last three registers and does not possess any mechanism for rhythm. Either these dancers have no rhythm, which seems very unlikely, or they receive their rhythm from the top two registers. The need for an instrument of rhythm for the last three registers indicates there is an interrelationship between the registers.

When one compares B3-N with Mereruka A10, the mechanics of this relationship are clear. Both scenes show the same dance positions for four movements (fig. 6).[50] In the successive movements of the dancers of A10 there is only one register while the corresponding movements of B3-N continue on the left side of register II. This registeral overlap in B3-N verifies the directional reading of this dance scene. The dancers' vertical movement is from top to bottom and the horizontal movement is from left to right.[51]

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[49]Compare with Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 87; *LD II*, 52.

[50]Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 87. Although some slight variation exists between the two scenes the similarities are too striking to allow the conclusion that the same dance is not represented. A10 probably served as a model for B3-N. The differences between the hand postures of some of the parallel dancers indicate B3-N is not an exact copy. A direct copy would have these two scenes exactly the same. What we have is the same dance represented in two different ways.

The difference in sex between these two scenes is probably due to the sex of tomb owner. Mereruka was male and Wa'tetkhethor was female. In the comparative dance scenes of Iy-Mery and Ibi, which will be discussed below, these male tomb owners also have male dancers.

[51]Hickmann also came to this conclusion of the direction in, "*La danse aux Miroirs*," 184.

It has been generally believed that scenes should be read in the same direction as the orientation of the text. This belief is incorrect. The opposition of the text to the direction of the scene is recognized in several Egyptian scenes.[52] It most often occurs in funeral processions[53] (fig. 7).

Although this opposition may have magical properties,[54] it seems far more likely that it was for a different purpose. It was the intent of Egyptian artists to have the direction of the hieroglyphic text facing in the same direction as the movement of the scene.[55]

3.3 SEQUENTIALITY

Egyptian art has sequential movement represented by placing the desired aspects of a sequence side by side or in two or more continuous

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[52]c.f., the scene of oxen plowing a field in the tomb of Paheri (Tylor, *Paheri*, pl. III).

[53]Blackman, *Meir V*, pls. XLII, XLIII; Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. XXI, XXII; Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pls. XXII and pl. XXXI; Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pls. XI, XII (middle register); Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, fig. 9; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. VIII; Martin, *The Tomb of Ḥetepka*, pl. 18; Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24, fig. 35.

[54]Certain texts of the ancient Egyptians were altered due to magical reasons. The most common example from the Old Kingdom are the *Pyramid Texts*. Hieroglyphs of animals believed to be harmful to the deceased in the Afterlife either had their heads severed or knives inserted in their bodies. The purpose was apparently to render them harmless to the vulnerable deceased.

[55]In Egyptian literature there are several examples of retrograde texts. They can be found in certain texts from the *Book of the Dead*; cf., the papyrus of Queen Maken (Cairo Mus.), Champdor, *Le Livre des Morts*, 1963: 172-73; the papyrus of Yuya, Naville, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya* and later portions of the Dramatic Rammesseum Papyrus. This was most recently stated by Altenmüller in, *"Zur Lesung und Deutung des dramatischen Rammesseum-Papyrus,"* *JEOL 19*, (1967) 423ff. For further discussion of retrograde texts and wall scenes refer to Fischer, *"L'Orientation des textes,"* *IFAO 64*, (1972), 21-23.

registers.[56] This results in continuous action being portrayed as isolated moments in time.

Sequential scenes are frequently used to depict Egyptian daily life. They encompass such varied aspects as wrestling,[57] acrobatics,[58] and the cutting and transport of papyrus.[59] The most common sequential scenes in the Old Kingdom are funerary processions.[60]

Only four dance representations from the Old Kingdom can be considered sequential. They are B3-N, A10, Iy-Mery and Ibi.[61] These four dance scenes have very similar movements and inscriptions and seem to be the same dance (fig. 8). Even though perceptible variations exist between the comparable movements of B3-N, Iy-Mery and Ibi,[62] a consistency in the movements shows the same dance is portrayed. Apparently only the

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[56]For a discussion of sequentiality see Schäfer, *Principles*, 166.

[57]Newberry, *BH II*, pl. 5

[58]Newberry, *BH II*, pl. 4.

[59]Blackman, *Meir II*, pl. III.

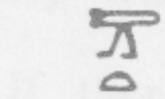
[60]c.f., De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, pl. 22; Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 130; Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24, Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, fig.56.

[61]For Iy-Mery see Smith, W.S., *History*, 1946, fig. 75, *LD II*, 52; Champollion, *Monuments IV*, pl. CCCCXIV. For Ibi see Klebs, *Relief NR*, fig. 135; Kulmann and Schenkel, *Ibi*, pl. 98; Wilkinson, *A Popular Account*, woodcut 153. One should remember that although this latter tomb dates to the Saite period it was originally copied from an Old Kingdom source. This is evident when one examines the repertoire of wall scenes found in the tomb.

[62]Variance occurs in many similar dance scenes and especially in funeral processions of the Old Kingdom. No two funeral processions are alike. Some contain aspects found in other scenes, while others contain entirely new portions. Seemingly, the only consistency is the order of events.

movements perceived by the artist as major transitions were represented.[63] The dance movements of Wa'tetkhethor are sequential. Each successive movement is developed from the previous movement and leads into the next one.[64]

3.4 NATURE OF THE DANCE

The dance of Wa'tetkhethor is funerary. This is shown by the text and by the text from Iy-Mery. The text from Iy-Mery tells us these dancers are participating in the *ḥb ḏt*, "festival of eternity." Over the heads of the dancers in Iy-Mery and Ibi, is the running line inscription,  , *i.ti ibw (or ib3w) ḫt nb(t) nfrt*, "A taking (or assuming a position/movement) by the dancers of every beautiful thing (for the deceased). This tells us that the dance movements symbolically represent the various articles of the funeral ritual.[65]

When Herodotus visited Egypt he also recognized symbolic references in Egyptian dances. His description of Egyptian ritual "mystery" dances used the Greek words *deikela, deikeliktai* and *deikelistai*.[66] These names are derived

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[63]This perception was, of course, left to the discretion of the chief artist.

[64]Hickmann also believes these dance steps are consecutive (*BIE 37*, 187-88). In figure 25 of this same publication, he has inserted non-represented dance movements between the existing movements.

[65]The translation of *i.ti*, as "movement" is discussed in detail below in the chapter on textual analysis. See register I, note 4.

Wild wrote in *Danses sacrées* that the names associated with the dance movements in Iy-Mery and Ibi refer to actions or a situation that is being imitated (83-84).

[66]*Book II*, 171. Even though Herodotus often has errors in his accounts of Egypt, what he saw for himself is generally accurate. The problem with Herodotus' records is that he generally believed his informant.

from the word *deixis* which denotes "portrayal" in a dance. This portrayal can refer to a person or a thing and is strongly connected with gesture or *cheironomia*.[67]

The texts from Iy-Mery and Ibi suggest that the dancers of B3-N also signify in their movements and gestures various aspects of the funerary rite.[68]

3.5 NAME OF THE DANCE

Although the word *ṯrf* does not occur in our text it is most likely the name of the dance of Wa'tetkhethor. *ṯrf* has been loosely translated as "dance" and occurs twice in Iy-Mery and thrice in Ibi.[69] If there was any other name for this dance, such as *nbw*, common to Iy-Mery and B3-N, or *sfg* and *sṯ3*, common to Ibi and B3-N, one would expect it to be repeated in the movements of Iy-Mery and Ibi. However, *ṯrf* is the only word which consistently occurs.

In addition, the badal apposition between textual lines 1.4 and 1.6 of B3-N indicates one of the phrases must be subordinate to the other. However, in the comparative texts of Iy-Mery and Ibi these phrases have equal hierarchical order. The two phrases in B3-N must then be subservient to some other word or phrase not found in this text. The correspondence of the movements of the paired dancers in these three dance scenes indicates the

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[67]Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, 26-27.

[68]Smith in *History*, was of the belief that the parallel dance scene from Mereruka A10, was funerary in character, since the owner's name was mentioned (p.210).

[69]See Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz*, 78.

two phrases in our scene are subordinate to the word *trf* and as a result, *trf* is probably the name of the dance of Wa'tekhethor.[70]

3.6 LOCATION OF DANCE WITHIN THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

Funerary dances are depicted in almost all phases of the funerary procession and are especially associated with the major aspects of the funeral. These aspects encompass the perceived rituals necessary for a successful transition of the deceased into the Afterworld.

The representations of dance do not indicate the position of dance within a funeral context. There are no clues in the dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor whereby a location of this event can be determined. Even the comparative dance scenes of Mereruka and Ibi are ambiguous about a location of this dance in the funerary procession.[71]

On the other hand, the parallel dance scene of Iy-Mery presents some additional information. It represents dancers performing inside an unidentified

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[70]I have found only one other occasion where the word *trf* occurs. It is found in the "Tale of the Eloquent Peasant" B1, 294 in the sentence, *wbn it trf.s 3k prw.s n t3*, "The barley is abundant and it will overflow, its excess perishes on the ground." *trf*, in this case, is translated as "to overflow, run over, or some similar type of meaning." The verb clearly is one of motion. How this meaning relates to *trf* as a dance is unclear. Nor is the Coptic form of this word, *ḏonf* any clearer in its designation. In Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 427, *ḏonf* means to "push, thrust forward, to happen, to meet or encounter, to push against something." Although not at all certain, perhaps the *trf* dance is one where the deceased is thrust forward into the Afterlife where they meet, or encounter the gods.

The reader should recognize that *trf* is only one name for a funerary dance. There is the *ḫbt* dance in the funeral of Ibi (Davies, *D. el. G. II*, pl. 7) and the *mww* dance in the funeral procession of Amenemhet (Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pl. 11).

[71]Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 87; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi*, pl. 98.

structure. In this structure are also other related funerary activities.[72] None of these activities appear in scenes of the secret priestly rituals performed in the tomb. As a consequence, this structure could be either the *ibw*, "House of Purification" or the *wbt*, "House of Embalmment."[73]

The appearance of this structure in the context of the dance seems to present a clue to the location of the dancers of B3-N. The dance scene of Iy-Mery shows only a portion of the dance found on B3-N. Its prominent portrayal in Iy-Mery indicates this particular phase of the dance was accentuated to show the associated portion of the funeral ceremony. The portion of the dance shown in Iy-Mery corresponds to B3-N at the end of register I and the beginning of register II. The dance movements of Wa'tetkhethor precede and succeed the movements found in Iy-Mery and must therefore, encapsulate additional references to funeral activities and rituals which end by the deceased departing to the "Realm of the Blessed Dead."[74] Since the dancers of Wa'tetkhethor refer to the funeral ceremony, they can only make that reference after it has occurred. They can not refer to something which does not yet exist.

The Old Kingdom funeral scenes of Mereruka[75] and Debehni[76] portray dancers performing at the tomb entrance. The scene from Mereruka has men bringing the coffin to a *ḫry-ḥbt* priest who stands at the entrance of the tomb. The dancers stand to the side of the entrance. The scene from

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[72]*LD II*, 52.

[73]c.f., "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys."

[74]See fig. 2 and textual line 5.3 in the following chapter.

[75]Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 130.

[76]*LD II*, pl. 35.

Debehni represents the dancers performing at the side of the tomb while priests present recitations and offerings to the funerary statue on the roof of the tomb.

Dancers performing at the entrance of the tomb are textually attested in the Middle Kingdom *The Story of Sinuhe*,

> "A funeral procession is made for you on the day of the burial...The sky is above you while you lie on the sledge, oxen drawing you, the singers going before you. The dance of the *mww* is performed at the door of your tomb."[77]

The spatial location of this dance scene in the complex of Wa'tetkhethor also lends itself to determining the location of this dance in the funeral. It is the last scene to occur before the entrance to the offering room (B5). The scenes in room B5 are the usual representations of offering bearers, the slaughtering of bulls and a list of offerings. These scenes refer to the last stage of the funeral ceremony.

The narration of the funeral ceremony could not have been presented until the referenced events had occurred. The end of the text alludes that Wa'tetkhethor was admitted into the "Realm of the Blessed Dead," therefore, the symbolic narration of the funeral procession by the dancers would have been one of the last stages of the funeral ceremony.

3.7 CONCLUSION

The information presented in this chapter has provided the function of a specific dance and the mechanics by which this dance operates. It is a sequential dance probably called the *ṯrf* and was performed at the entrance of the tomb as a summarization of the funeral ceremony. The representation

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[77]c.f., the translation by M. Lichtheim, *Lit. I*, 229.

presented by the artists has the direction of the scene proceeding from top -register I- to bottom -register V- and left to right. Although this direction is in opposition to the text, it is in general accordance with other existing funeral processional scenes.

Chapter IV

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

Writing is a systematic and socially developed process whereby human intercommunication is made possible by conventionalized signs.[78] The early part of the VI Dynasty is characterized by writing in an evolutionary developmental process. It is a formative period and seeks to formulate expressions of newly achieved noble power and the rights and privileges associated with that power. To this endeavor was the conveyance of thought which advances writing beyond the equation of sign to concept.

A number of new formula inscriptions appear in the VI Dynasty. They show a high degree of originality and deliberately avoid IV and V Dynasty repetition of formulas. This period also introduces a conscious introduction of elements of individuality into known formulas. The new VI Dynastic formulas essentially concentrate on three main themes: 1) the accompaniment of the deceased by the Ka to the Western Desert; 2) the Ka guiding the deceased to the Western Desert; and 3) the acceptance of the deceased into the Afterlife on the basis of good deeds.[79]

However, in the early VI Dynasty, these expressions seem to be beyond the structural abilities of the then presently developed linguistic system. The

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[78]c.f., Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 12.

[79]The VI Dynasty also introduces an address to the living, "O you living who are upon the earth, mortuary priests of a lord, as the lord favors you every day, you will give bread, beer and water..." (Wilson, *JNES 13*, 256).

VI Dynasty does not possess a writing norm. Writing becomes codified only by the linguistic system and because that system varies; in the form of regional dialects, the principles which rely on the specific structure of language also vary.[80] Although the majority of texts from this period generally conform to later written forms, several do not. When the standardized texts are written, they use recognizable forms of expression. However, when new texts are used there seems to be some confusion as to the usage of writing. Wilson may be correct in his assessment of VI Dynasty texts when he says:

> "Perhaps... the texts are to be taken seriously as containing correct verb forms, that these forms are relatives, but that there was some uncertainty at this period about the precise application in time of some of the relative forms."[81]

The problems encountered in the text of the dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor extend beyond the use of the correct verbal form. There are problems in word order, the absence of auxiliary verbs, the lack of pronouns and the usage of uncommon phraseology. This may be attributed to the originality of the text. It sought to express intent and meaning of the funeral ritual. Most Old Kingdom texts are concerned with titulary, desired benefits from the gods and proclamations of deeds done. The text of Wa'tetkhethor is without precedent and this may have caused uncertainty among the scribes as to the correct forms of expression. Other VI Dynasty inscriptions, such as the mortuary prayer of Bia, are also noted for their unconventionality.[82] In light of these other VI Dynasty texts, we should

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[80]A similar problem existed in American English up to the early nineteenth century.

[81]Wilson, *JNES 13* (1954), 262-263.

[82]Wilson, *JNES 13*, 243-267.

treat the text of Wa'tetkhethor as a viable expression of VI Dynasty desires and wishes.

The text is inserted above and between the clappers and dancers. The absence of written text between the dancers in register V shows the importance of pairing specific textual phrases with specific dancers.[83] If the juxtaposition of textual phraseology with certain images was unimportant, the crowded parts of the text could have been better dispersed over this scene. However, this is not the case. The correspondence of text with image has caused textual lines 2.2 and 2.4, and lines 4.4 and 4.6 to run together. Vertical bars over the heads of dancers 7 and 22 were used to separate these two sets of sentences. They seem to function as points of punctuation and may be equivalent to period marks in modern languages.[84]

The direction of text of B3-N conforms to the direction of the heads of figures. Normally the text is oriented to the right. The only variance occurs in the texts associated with dancers 13 and 31 where both the text and the dancers' heads face left.[85]

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[83]The lack of text between dance figures in register II is due to erosion. In some cases lines related to hieroglyphic signs can be seen.

[84]These vertical bars are found throughout the tomb of Mereruka. A similar punctuation device is used in the *Pyramid Texts* where chapters are delineated by a square at the bottom of the rectangle containing the text.

[85]This one to one correspondence is also evident in Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24. The bottom register has two subregisters of men pulling the funeral boat to the house of embalmment. The heads of these boatmen face to the right, the same direction as the corresponding text. The remaining text of the bottom register and subregisters faces left, the direction of the heads of the other participants in this scene, see fig. 7.

When the direction of the text does not correspond with the direction of the heads of figures it is usually oriented to the deceased who is often portrayed in heraldic size; c.f. the tombs of Ti, Ptahhotep, Mereruka. Refer also to Fischer, "*L'Orientation des Textes*," *IFAO 64*, 21-23. Exceptions to these rules are when an utterance is issued forth from the mouth of the

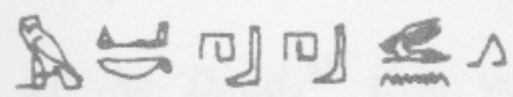
The analysis for this text begins with the hieroglyphic text followed by transliteration and translation. Comments concerning the transliteration and translation are placed after the translation. Each register is treated as a unified whole and not a compilation of individual components. This allows a more comprehensive understanding of the text.[86]

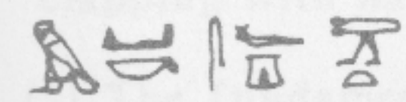
In accordance with the previously established directional reading of this scene, the text will be read from top to bottom and left to right. Since the text must be read from top to bottom and left to right, when running line texts occur over the figures, translation begins with the leftmost dancer who introduces the phrase. The phrases between the dancers and clappers are then translated after the running textual line.

Register I

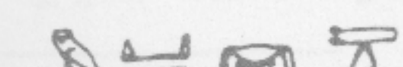
1.1

1.2

1.3 

1.4 

1.5

1.6 

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deceased; a listing of titulary; or when an invocation is given. The deceased, Wa'tetkhethor, is seated to the right of this scene.

[86]This procedure was used by Sethe in his *Dramatische Texte.*

1.1 *ir(i) ḥwi.t*

1.2 *ir(i) ḥwi.t*

1.3 *mk hbhb wni*

1.4 *mk sfg iṯi.t*

1.5 *(m)k(1) sṯ3*

1.6 *mk nbw iṯi.t*

1.1 "I am clapping"(2)

1.2 "I am clapping"

1.3 "look, making a quick passage"

1.4 "look, the movement is hidden"(3)

1.5 "look, pulling"

1.6 "look, the movement is gold"

(1) *mk* has been reconstructed in accordance with the general format of the text.

(2) *ḥwt* from the infinitive *ḥwi* "to beat or strike". In *The Book of the Dead*,[87] this verb occurs with the preposition *m* to form "clapping with hands."

(3) The fundamental meaning of the infinitive *iṯi* is "to take (for some use)." It was expanded to include movement: *iṯ in*, "to move unceasingly;"[88] *nn iṯt int*, "without moving to and fro;"[89] *iṯ gst*, "move regularly."[90]

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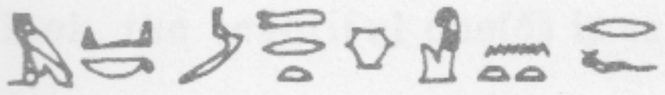
[87]E.A.W. Budge, vol 1, 1895, 471, 12.

[88]*JEA 24*, 124f.

[89]*PT 1459.*

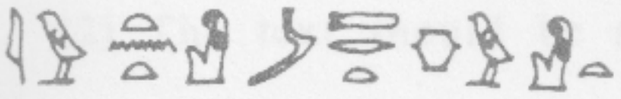
[90]*PT 14, 10.*

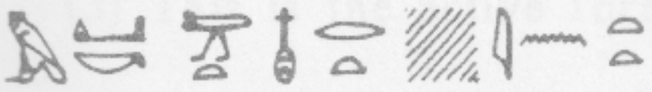
Register II

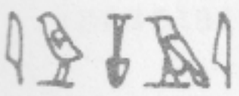
2.1 

2.2

2.3

2.4 

2.5 

2.6 

2.7

2.1 *mk M3ṯrwt ntt ir.f*

2.2 *ir.s iwt.s*

2.3 *iwt.s*

2.4 *iw Tnt (m) M3ṯrwt*

2.5 *mk iṯi nfr.t...*

2.6 *iw sm3(i)*

2.7 *mk sḥ nbt ḏ3dw*

2.1 "look, this is the *M3ṯrwt*-priestess(1) that is in charge of him"(2)

2.2 "she will come"(3)

2.3 "may she come"

2.4 "Tnt(4) is the *M3t*rwt-priestess"

2.5 "look, the beautiful one(5) is taken..."

2.6 "I am together (with you)"

2.7 "look, all pavilions and the audience hall"(6)

(1) Edel has determined that *m3t*rwt is a female title which personifies a Tree Goddess.[91] This Tree Goddess protects the deceased on their entrance into Heaven.[92]

(2) The text should be amended to read *m3t*rwt *ntt ir.s* "this is the *M3trwt*- priestess in charge of her."

(3) This is the active form of *s*dm.f. Literally, "I will cause that she comes." This declaration is probably the result of performed incantations.

(4) The absence of the name *Tnt* in Ranke's *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, is not too disturbing since many Old Kingdom personal names are not found in this publication.[93]

(5) "The Beautiful One" is another name for the serdab funerary statue.

(6) The word *d*3dw "audience hall" is a rather ambiguous term. In Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 257,1 and 349,10, it refers to a place where the king receives visitors. A derivative of this word, *d3d3t*

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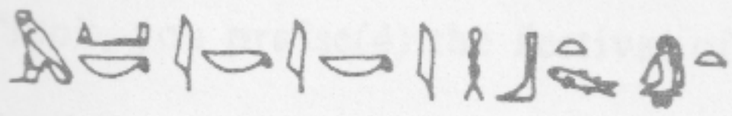
[91]*ZÄS* 96 (1969), 11-12; *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches*, 49.

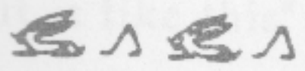
[92]The personification of gods by participants in funeral ceremonies is a frequent occurrence, c.f., Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 59.

[93]There are, however, a few similar names: *PN I*; 381, 9, feminine (Middle Kingdom) *tniit*; 392, 8, feminine (Middle Kingdom) *t*nt; 392, 12, feminine (Old Kingdom) *t*ntt.

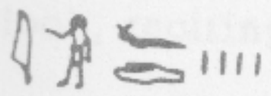
denotes "magistrates, assessors" and indicates the root word is a place where they conducted business. *d3dw* is most likely a place where the public has access to certain functions, whether they are royal, governmental, or sacred. In this text it probably refers to the tomb, specifically the section of the tomb where offerings are made.

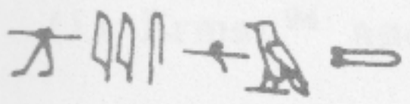
Register III

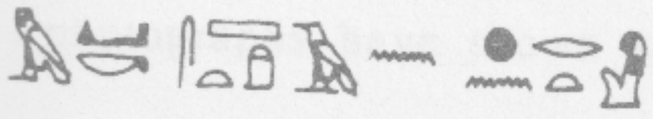
3.1 

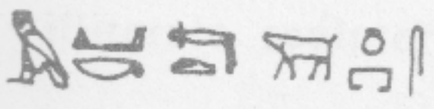
3.2 

3.3

3.4 

3.5 

3.6 

3.7 

3.8

3.1 *mk iki.k ḥ3b.t(1) mswt*

3.2 *wni wni*

3.3 *iw mi-n3*

3.4 *i ifdw*

3.5 *zby st3=t*

3.6 *mk sšt3 n(y) ḫnrt*

3.7 *mk šdi(2) ḫnw.s*

3.8 *mk(3) ḳḥt*

3.1 "look, you praise(4) the festival of birth"(5)

3.2 "quick quick"

3.3 "it is like this"

3.4 "O a quartet"

3.5 "come and pull"

3.6 "look the secret of the harim"(6)

3.7 "look, reciting it's inside?"(7)

3.8 "look, the *ḳḥt* bend"(8)

(1) Erman[94] and, subsequently, Brunner-Traut[95] have seen this glyph as that of a fish, specifically the 'bulti' fish. Although photographs have shown this sign resembles the 'bulti' fish, it was probably not the intended determinative. The somewhat illiterate sculptor may have confused the word *ḥbt* 'to catch'

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[94]*Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 60-61

[95]*Der Tanz*, 85.

with the word *ḥ3b.t* 'festival.'[96] The similarity between the two words may have led to some confusion on the part of the sculptor.[97]

(2) The represented sign appears to be the *mḥ* sign instead of the *šd* sign. Both are very similar in form and can be easily confused. However, the phonetic value of *d* after the initial sign shows that *šd* was intended.

(3) It seems likely, due to the spatial arrangement, that *mk* is commonly shared by both lines 3.7 and 3.8.

(4) I have translated *iki* "to praise" instead of *ik* "to lament, to grieve, etc."[98] The translation of *iki* "to praise" was favored by Sethe.[99] It is also the translation favored by Edel in the verbal form *iky*.[100] The meaning "to praise" corresponds with the arm gestures of dancer 12 and fits well with the remaining portion of this phrase.

(5) The "festival of birth" is most likely a reference to resurrection in the Afterlife.

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[96]In one V Dynasty wall scene, fishing is called a festival (Van de Walle, *La Chapelle Funerēraire de Neferirtenef*, 1978, 70, pl. 13). The word for catching requires both a fish and a bird ideogram.

[97]The confusion concerning the proper determinative with this phonetic value seems to have been present throughout the history of pharaonic Egypt. The tomb of Paheri at El Kab shows the feminine name *Nbw-m-ḥbt* spelled with both determinatives (Taylor, *Paheri*, pls. VII and X).

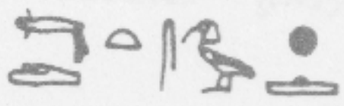
[98]Erman, *WB I*, 138-39.

[99]*Kommentar 3*, 35. He based this translation on the similarity of the ideogram with the word *ḫnw*.

[100]*Äg. Gr. I*, sec 598b, 290.

"O King, you have not gone away dead, you have gone away alive and reside on the throne of Osiris."[101]

(6) The "secrets of the harim" seems to be a reference to the ritual knowledge possessed by dancers.[102]

(7) This could be a reference to the *šdi.t s3ḫ* recitation made by the *ḫry-ḥbt*-priest.[103] The position of dancer 17 resembles very closely the *ḫry-ḥbt*-priest when he is shown reading the *šdi.t s3ḫ*. The phrase,  *šdi.t s3ḫ*, "reciting the glorification," occurs in the tomb of Ankhmahor in the written form, *šdi n s3ḫw*. The verb *šdi*, "reciting" in this latter example lacks the *t* ending, just as it does in our text. The absence of the may be a abbreviated written form, or more likely, it is a VI Dynasty verbal construction.[104]

The feminine pronoun used in this phrase may be a reference to some type of book used during this recitation.

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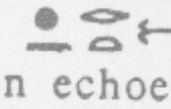
[101]*PT 134a, b.*

[102]Recently there has been some discussion concerning the meaning of the word *ḫnrt*. Del Nord, *JNES* 34, 1975, 143f., believes that  , *ḫnrt* is restricted to singing and dancing. In 1982, Betsy M. Bryan echoed this belief in *BES* 4, 37f. Following Nord's example, she contends that , *ḫnrt* signified 'musical performers.' Although *ḫnrt* is often found in the context of singing and dancing, the word for the physical structure of the harim is phonetically written the same as the word referring to the inhabitants of the structure. Additionally, the word for harim, the structure, is identical to the word for prison. Gardiner, *Gr.*, section 201, 1, writes that the spellings of this word vacillate between *ḫnt* and *ḫnrt*. Both words, he believes, are probably derived from *ḫnr* "to restrain." This would be consistent with the translation of *ḫnrt* as 'harim,' rather than *ḫnrt* as 'musical performers.'

[103]Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. XXIX.

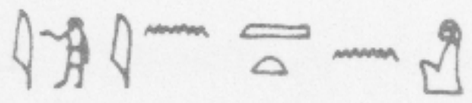
[104]Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 262-263.

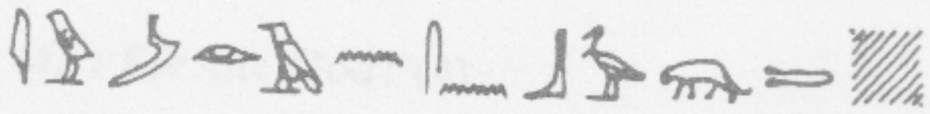
(8) *ḳḥt*, "to bend" corresponds with the movement of the accompanying dancer 17. She is portrayed bending both arms and her left leg. *ḳ'ḥt* is a variant of the word *ḳ'ḥ*. *ḳ'ḥ* has the ' consonant sometimes alternating with the *i* consonant, to form *ḳiḥ*. The normally strong *'ayin*,' has in some cases undergone a vocalized change. This vocalized change also occurs in the word for "farmer" *'ḥwty* where *'ayin'* is changed to *'i'* to form *iḥwty*.

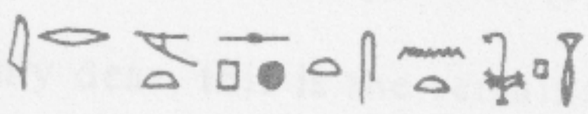
The stele of Heka-Yeb also has *ḳḥ* written without the *'ayin'* in the phrase, "I caused him to bend his arm."[105] Polotsky interpreted *ḳ'ḥ* to be a 'gesture of reverence.'[106] Fairman and Grdseloff expanded the interpretation of *ḳ'ḥ* to normally refer to

> a ritual act called "bending up of the arm." It is made by a king or priest to a god.[107]

Register IV

4.1 

4.2 

4.3 

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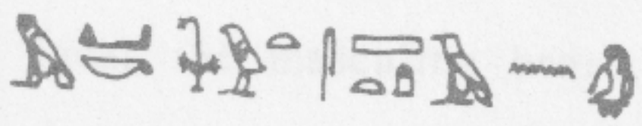
[105]Polotsky, *JEA*, 16 (1930), 195.

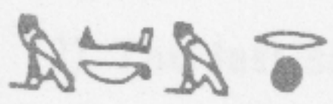
[106]*Ibid., 198.*

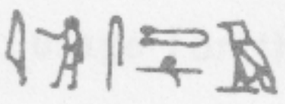
[107]Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA* 33 (1947), 23, footnote i.

4.4

4.5

4.6 

4.7 

4.8 

4.1 *i in m3't n(y) nṯr(1)*

4.2 *iw m33 n.sn b3 ?(2)*

4.3 *ir mri.i zpi.t=s n(y)t w3ḏ-šm'*

4.4 *iw.s di(.s) ḥḥ*

4.5 *km(3).sn s3b*

4.6 *mk swt sšt3 n(y) mswt*

4.7 *mk m rḫ*

4.8 *i sṯ3*

4.1 "by *M3't* for the God?"(4)

4.2 "they have seen the panther"(5)

4.3 "O my dear, this is the remainder(6)

of the Upper Egyptian green stone"(7)

4.4 "she is given millions (of years)"(8)

4.5 "They will complete the judge"(9)

4.6 "look, this is the mystery of birth"

4.7 "look with knowledge" or "look as a learned one"

4.8 "Pull!"

(1) I have transliterated *nṯr* as god even though the seated figure lacks the masculine beard. The absence of a feminine ending indicates that the word god, rather than goddess, was intended.

(2) The last sign(s) are unreadable. The missing part of this word may be related to a type of species of leopard or a specific usage for this animal. The scene in *Beni Hassan II*, pl. IV, shows two species types. They are identified as , and . The former is the leopard *felis pardus*, and the latter is the hunting leopard, *cynailurus guttatus*.[108] Or perhaps the missing portion may refer to a use of the panther skin. It may be the name of an article of clothing used by the *stm* priest.[109]

(3) The initial sign is indistinguishable in the published photograph by Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 29. In recent photographs by the late John Callender, the sign is clearly shown to be *km*, albeit a rather crudely carved one.

(4) This phrase is uncertain, but some things can be derived. Who is the god in question? Since the text is funerary the god should have a funeral relationship. The only god who has a funerary role and is equated with justice is Osiris.

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[108]Erman, *WB I*, 7.

[109]Weeks, "Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View," 62ff.

By the end of the V Dynasty Osiris had already assumed his role as the paramount funeral god.[110] Variations of the V and VI Dynasty inscription *im3ḫw ḫr Wsir* "Venerated before Osiris"[111] either accompany or supplant other funerary gods. In the VI Dynasty, he is often called "Lord of the Necropolis," *Wsir nb ḥrt(t)-nṯr*, "Osiris, Lord of the *Necropolis*,"[112] and *im3ḫw ḫr Wsir nb T3-ḏsr*, "Venerated before Osiris, Lord of the Necropolis."[113]

Although Re' is called the "Lord of *M3't*, he never possessed a funerary role and by the VI Dynasty Osiris has taken this title from him.[114]

The non-royal V Dynasty text, "The Instruction of Ptahhotep," has Osiris equated with *M3't*

> "Great is justice, lasting in effect, unchallenged since the time of Osiris."[115]

The sudden preeminent rise of Osiris as the "Lord of the Necropolis" and the "Lord of *M3't*" shows there was a revision in the religious structure. Non-royal personages now have a god who will grant them a fair trial for admittance into the Afterlife.

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[110]see Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, 41-44; 113-14.

[111]Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. XXI; Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 62; Davies, *D. el. G. II*, pl. VI; Épron, et. al., *Ti II*, pl. CII.

[112]Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, fig. 9.

[113]Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 217a.

[114]*PT 1520a- 1523a.* For a discussion of Osiris as the Lord of *M3't*, see Westendorf, *MIO 2*, (1954), 165-182.

[115]*Ptahhotep*, 89; see also Lichtheim, *Lit. I*, 64.

(5) "They" in this inscription are clearly the audience. Why is it important for them to see the panther skin, unless the one who wears it performs an important funeral role? The only known funeral functionary to wear a panther skin is the *stm* priest.

In a later text, Horus says to Osiris, "The panther cat has put (will put) together your limbs."[116] Apparently the *stm* priest has already in the VI Dynasty assumed the sacerdotal role he is known to acquire from the *wt* priest in the Middle Kingdom.[117] The *wt* priest is commonly called the 'Embalmer.' When the *stm* priest assumed the role of the 'Embalmer' his chief function was to place together the limbs of the deceased.

The profusion of *stm* priest portrayals in Old Kingdom relief indicates some important functionary role, but what this role is unclear.[118] Only one Old Kingdom scene shows the *stm* priest involved in funerary ritual and this involvement is enigmatic. A VI Dynasty representation from the tomb of Zefau has the deceased's two sons represented as *stm* priests flanking both doorjambs of a false door. Below them are two registers of offering bearers and underneath is a register of the funerary ritual 'sacrificing the bulls.'[119] Since the last three registers

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[116]Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 216.

[117]Wilson, *JNES* 3, 205.

[118]Junker associated the *stm* priest with the cult of Osiris and funerary practices, but he was unable to determine the *stm* priest's function in the Old Kingdom. See Junker, *Giza II*, 160.

[119]Petrie and Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. XIV.

represent funerary activities, the first register also suggests a funeral role.

(6) The noun *zp(y)t* from the verbal stem *zpi* "to remain" is often used in funerary context to denote the food offerings placed on the offering table.[120] The Funerary Papyrus of Nespeher'an uses a later derivative form, *zp(y)t* in the phrase "from what remains over from your offering table that he may eat like the gods.[121] The "remainder" in this text seems to be the indentured portion of produce from the deceased's estates.

(7) The "green stone of Upper Egypt" may have been involved in ritual offerings for the deceased. It seems to have played some important ritual role in other religious celebrations.

(8) The correct feminine verbal form for this text should be amended to *iw.s rdi(ti.s) ḥḥ*, "She is given millions (of years.)" The sculptor merely changed the pronouns of a masculine text and did not bother to change the verbal tense.

Although 'millions' is not commonly written in this form, *ḥḥ* is used as a nominal object, "She is given X." Accordingly, *ḥḥ* cannot denote the god Hehw,[122] but rather it must refer to his endowment -- eternity.

(9) For *z3b* as judge in the Afterlife, see Erman, *WB III*, 420, *PT 804d*, *1015c*, and *1257c*.

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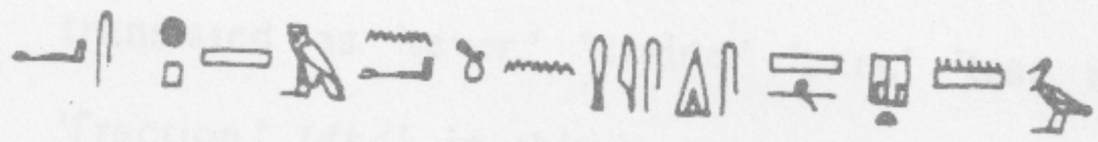
[120]Erman, *WB V*, 440.

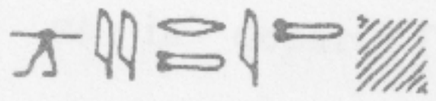
[121]Blackman, *JEA 5*, 28; see also Naville, *Die Aegyptische Todtenbuch*, Chapter 29, line 11, pl. XXXIV.

[122]Erman, *WB III*, 152.

The judge is assumed here to be Osiris since, he is the only known judge of the dead.

Register V

5.1 

5.2 

5.3

5.1 *di.s ḫpš m ... di.s sšt3...ḥwt...(1)*

5.2 *zby rmṯ iṯ///! (2)*

5.3 *di fdḳdḳ.f*

5.1 "may she give the arm(3)...may she give the secret...tomb..."

5.2 "Go people of iṯ///"(4)

5.3 "make him depart"(5)

(1) Most of this phrase is unreadable (fig.2).

(2) The last part of this word(s) has been destroyed.

(3) "May she give her arm..." may refer to the deceased giving her arm to the "Goddess of the Western Desert" and thereby gain entrance into the Afterworld.

(4) *rmt iṯ///* is translated as "people of *iṯ///*" based on a similar inscription found in the tomb of Antefoker. In this scene each

dancer has between their arms an inscription which identifies their geographical origin.[123]

(5) Instead of a feminine pronoun the masculine form has been used. The text should be amended to *di(.t) fdḳdḳ.s* "make her depart." *fdḳdḳ* is the reduplicative verb of *fdḳ*.[124] It can be translated as 'sever,' 'divide,' 'part,' 'tear apart,' 'piece,' and 'fraction.' *fdḳdḳ* in this instance is best translated as 'to depart,' as in depart from the living. The pictorial representation associated with this phrase supports this translation. The movement of dancer 31 is away from her partner- dancer 30.

The text of this dance scene is funerary. It is often vague and confusing and becomes somewhat understandable only when it is dependently used with the respective dancing pair or dancer. It seems that the primary function of the text is to clarify the symbolic representation of the dance movements and postures.[125]

The length of discussion has been somewhat distracting to the overall sense of the text. For the reader's benefit the translated text is presented here in its amended form.

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[123]Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXIII. The absence of the ending for this geographical name is unfortunate. It may be *it.wt* (Gauthier, *Dict. geog. V*, 224) or *it.f* (Gauthier, *DG I*, 125). They both have the same initial phonetic spelling and are located near Memphis, but this conjecture is very uncertain.

[124]Reduplicative verbs signify continuous or repeated human actions. The departure of the dead was a frequent occurrence and may point to the reason for the reduplication of this verb.

[125]This text gives one the impression that the dancers portray this event for individuals not found in the scene. This is largely derived from the phrase *mk* "look." The word is an imperative and is most likely directed to non-portrayed audience members.

Register I:

"I am clapping; I am clapping; look, making a quick passage; look, the movement is hidden; look, pulling; look, the movement is gold."

Register II:

"look, this is the *M3ʿrwt*-priestess that is in charge of her; she will come; may she come; Tnt is the *M3ʿrwt*-priestess; look, the beautiful one is taken; I am together (with you); look all pavilions and the audience hall."

Register III:

"look, you praise the festival of birth; quick, quick; it is like this, O a quartet; come and pull; look, the secret of the harim; look, reciting its inside?; look, the *ḫt* bend."

Register IV:

"by *M3't* for the God?; They have seen the panther; O my dear, this is the remainder of the Upper Egyptian green stone; she is given millions (of years); They will complete the judge; look, this is the mystery of birth; look, as a learned one; Pull!"

Register V:

"May she give the arm...may she give the secret...tomb...; Go people of *iʿ///*!; make her depart"

The context of the text of B3-N does not deviate from our previous knowledge of the sequence of funerary processions and rites. Furthermore, it places formerly disparate elements of the funeral ritual in an episodal order and introduces funerary aspects which arise in VI Dynasty funeral rites. These new funerary aspects are generally not recognized to occur until later

periods. Clearly not all of the events mentioned in the text occur in a single day. Rather, they are mentioned in their sequential order.[126]

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[126]Although Kantor has pointed out that funerary scenes greatly vary from tomb to tomb (*AJA* 61, 46-7), the sequential order does not appear to deviate.

Chapter V

PICTORIAL ANALYSIS

The Egyptians provided information about their daily life in their wall scenes. The socially formulated Afterlife of the Egyptians was a structured approach to an expectation. Their view of the Netherworld was neither ethereal nor esoteric. It was a clear concept which possessed no ambiguity or uncertainty and did not seemingly allow individual interpretation. The funerary wishes of the deceased portrayed in their tomb wall scenes were based on experience found in reality.

VI Dynasty funeral scenes differ from earlier representations of funeral rituals in their complexity and specificity. They possess less symbolism and assume a narrative role in portrayal.[127]

The fulfillment of Wa'tetkhethor's desire to have this dance scene on a wall in her tomb did not consider modern aesthetic artistic conventions of depth of field and perspective. Nevertheless, equivalent devices were employed. They were logical solutions for the transference of information about the three dimensional Egyptian world onto a two dimensional wall.

5.1 SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT

Wall scenes are two dimensional, whereas the movements of the dancers are three dimensional. Therefore, it was necessary for the three dimensional

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[127]The standards of this new form of representation are probably the basis for subsequent dynastic funeral renditions.

image to be transformed into a conceptual two dimensional image. The reversal of this two dimensional transformation requires an understanding of the spatial relationships and arrangement employed by the Egyptian artist.

Contrary to the belief of Schäfer, it is possible to deduce non-overlapping spatial relationships and arrangement.[128] It is represented in one or more registers or can, by a unifying element, encompass several registers. In all instances the principle of rabattement is applied.

Rabattement allows visualization of the spatial relationship between one object or sets of objects with their surrounding objects. It has been previously applied to representations of Egyptian architecture[129] and is equally applicable in Egyptian art.[130]

We can use some scenes from ancient Egypt to demonstrate how rabattement was used in Egyptian art. The tomb of Ptahhotep has a scene of two naked boys on two subregisters, one directly above the other. Before them stands a nude youth in a running posture.[131] Comparing this scenes with a 1937 photograph of Arab boys highjumping[132] we are able to see that the two seated boys are on the same groundline. The boy on the top subregister is at a horizontal distance furthest from the viewer (fig. 9).

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[128]*Principles*, 1974, 173.

[129]see Badawy, *Le Dessin Architectural*, 252f., 267-71; *History. I*, 35, fig. 24; *III*, 27, fig. 14.

[130]Gaballa in his work, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, (1976: 3-4) makes references to the use of rabattement though he never specifically labels this technique.

[131]Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. XXIII; this scene also occurs in Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 162, 163.

[132]Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and its excavations*, fig. 120.

The relationship of distance, with respect to the viewer, is also seen in the tomb of Kaemhest at Saqqara.[133] A town is represented under attack by a scaling party. The bottom two registers show women and animals being placed in underground shelters (fig. 10a).[134] Since the earth lies on one spatial plane, entrances to these two underground shelters must also be on that same spatial plane. The second register from the bottom portrays action which occurs furthest from the viewer (fig. 10b).

Registers in some scenes are connected by a visual overlapping and unifying element. The unifying element in the tomb of Qar is ropes held by two groups of men pulling the funeral barque (fig. 7).[135] They are pulling the barque from opposing shores of a waterway. The upper group is spatially arranged on the bank furthest from the viewer. The Middle Kingdom tomb of Djehuty-hotep (Deir el Bersheh) expands this usage in four registers of men pulling on ropes connected to a colossal statue.[136] To accomplish forward movement of the statue the men must be on the same groundline. According to the rules of rabattement, the men in the topmost register are farthest

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[133]It is probably VI Dynasty. Porter and Moss, *Memphis III*, pt. 2, fasc. 1, 1978, 542; the location of the tomb north of the Teti Pyramid and the tomb type point to the VI Dynasty as the probable date.

[134]Quibell, *Saqqara*, frontispiece, a description is on page 25; the structure here is labeled a town hall, incorrectly I believe since it very strongly resembles the town being attacked by the bull on the recto side of the Narmer Palette.

The town walls in Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. IV, are almost exactly the same as those found in Kaemhest. The inhabitants of this town are arranged in registers. The arrangement uses the technique of rabattement.

[135]Presumably this boat is on a canal. The distance between the water banks does not seem great enough to be the Nile.

[136]Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. XV.

from the viewer with each successive register gradiating closer to the observer of this scene.

These examples show the variety of usage applied to the technique of rabattement. It was apparently designed to show spatiality and physical relationships within portrayed scenes.

Applying rabattement to B3-N will allow a comprehension of the spatial arrangement of the dancers. The previous comparison between B3-N and Mereruka A10 (fig. 6) showed register II was an extension of register I. As a consequence, the clappers of register II are dependent on those in register I and possess a unified and equivalent relationship. They are on the same line of axis. When rabattement is applied, the clappers of register I are directly aligned behind the clappers of register II and are furthest from the viewer (fig. 11).[137]

The spatial arrangement of the clappers is also that for the dancers. The text and representation show four dancers are present in this scene. Line 3.4 of the text, *i ifdw*, "O a quartet," gives a numerical value of four and is compositionally related to the dancers. In register IV, four dancers are represented in the same posture. In many Old Kingdom scenes four dancers are the preferred number.[138] A repetition of two dancers in the same movement are incongruent with general figurative portrayal in Egyptian art and contradicts maximum utility of space. The purpose for this portrayal

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[137]The idea of establishing spatial relationships between dancers is not a new one. Vandier has previously reconstructed the spatial relationship of some dancing scenes, including Mereruka A-13, *M d'A IV*, 1964, 410-411, fig. 215 (see also Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 164) and Antefoker, *M d'A IV*, 1964, 432. The latter reconstruction of Antefoker is based on overlapping figures and easily defines spatial relationship.

[138]c.f., *LD II*, pls. 35, 36, 53, 101b.

is a clarification of the numerical value of the dancers[139] and an emphasis on this portion of the dance. All dancers are present to show their veneration of the deceased. The non-portrayed dancing pair are on the same axial alignment of the represented pair in registers I, II, III, and V and, therefore, are not represented.[140] In register IV only one dancer is represented. Since we know there are at least two dancers where is the second one? She is now on axial alignment and behind the represented dancer. All the dancers, except dancer 13/14, are in a straight line (see fig. 13).

Absent members on direct line of axis is also found in the tomb of Ramose. The funeral procession, on the south wall, has two men carrying a bed. The hands of these two bearers are portrayed holding the bed as if it had only two legs. The absent legs are not represented because they are on direct axial alignment with the portrayed legs (fig. 12).

The spatial arrangement for register III varies from the other registers. It is the only register where the movements are independent of a partner and there is an odd number of dancers. Since the dance is pair dancing an odd number of dancers is impossible. This incongruity can be easily explained. Dancer 13 and 14 are the same person. This is seen by the shared hair ball. From her position as dancer 13 she turns 180 degrees into the position of dancer 14. This restores an even number of dancers to the register. In

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[139]Perhaps this portion of the scene was included to alleviate any ambiguity that line 3.4 could be perceived as possessing.

[140]Brunner-Traut believed, though I do not know the reasoning, that the dance scene in Mereruka A10 (see fig. 6), represented four pairs of dancers simultaneously executing four phases of the dance, see Hickmann, *BIE 37, 174.*

The repetition of dancers in many Old Kingdom scenes seems to be more likely an indication of numerical value, rather than the same dancer repeated a number of times (c.f., *LD II*, pls. 14, 35, 36, 41, 52, 53, 101b).

register III, dancer 13/14 represents the focal point. All other registral dancers revolve around her and vary the usual spatial arrangement. The spatial relationship of dancer 13/14 to the other dancers results in the spatial arrangement reconstructed in figure 13.

5.2 SPATIAL MOVEMENT

How movement occurs in a three dimensional perspective specifically depends on spatial relationship. The dance of Wa'tetkhethor has several possibilities for spatial movement by the dancers (fig. 14). However, the portrayal of precise choreography in B3-N allows these possibilities to be reduced to a workable number. The choreography shows the most natural and logical movement from one dance position into the succeeding position.

Another visual clue for spatial movement is the representation of the "crossed leg indicator." Irene Lexova has written that the "crossing of legs probably represent a pirouette or a 180 degree turn."[141] She has used several examples to demonstrate her point and it seems, by the material evidence, that her assumption is generally correct.

This theory can be applied to B3-N dancers 3, 4, 24 and 28. In these instances, the dancer succeeding the above numbered dancers represents a different phase of the same movement. Dancer 3 performs a 180 degree turn by moving her right hand from the front of her body to her back to end up in the position of dancer 5. Dancer 4 projects her left leg forward while twisting her body and moving the right arm down and to the front. The left arm is raised and ends in the position of the arm behind the head of dancer

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[141]Lexova, *Dance*, 1935, 48-49.

6.[142] Dancer 24 is performing a pirouette. This is shown by the fact that succeeding dancer 26 is facing the same direction as dancer 24. Dancer 28 makes a 180 degree turn to form the successive position of dancer 30.[143]

The "crossed leg indicator" is only one mechanism for determining three dimensional movement. Three dimensional movement is also found by the succession of movements and activities. Dancer 7 does not have a "crossed leg," yet her successive movement into dancer 9 shows a 180 degree turn has been made. The "crossed leg indicator" is a visual clue for spatial movement, but the main "indicator" of three dimensional movement in scenes is the sequence of events and the relationship between figures.

5.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF DANCE MOVEMENTS AND GESTURES

Art in the ancient Near East contains a profusion of symbolism related to ritual. Ritual is an attempt to deal with and control human experience in an unpredictable world. It is a socially constructed mechanism whereby the unexplainable can become understood. Symbols are a detached fragment of myth or ritual and serve as visual references to a story which the ritual re-enacts.[144]

Symbolism has inherent cultural associations which enable the members of society easily to comprehend the presented message. By examining the

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[142]One should recognize that dancer 4 does not turn a full 180 degrees, but instead makes a one quarter turn.

[143]This theory does not apply to dancer 15. The successive movements of dancers 16 and 17 show no turn has been made. If one closely examines this scene in Wreszinski's *Atlas III*, pl. 29, we can see; by the depth of carving of this so called "crossed leg" and the proportion of the foot relative to other feet, the artist had simply made a mistake.

[144]Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 4.

cultural remains of the Egyptian society it is possible to derive meaning in some of their symbolism.

The precise dance notation of B3-N allows interpretation of the mechanics of this dance and, as a consequence, some understanding of the portrayed symbolism.

The interaction between the dancers of this dance contains some interesting dynamics. The rightmost dancer of the pair leads the other in register II. The leftmost dancers in register III display independent dance movements to dancer 13/14 before resuming a choreographed sequential dance movement. The dance is then concluded in register V with both dancers intertwining their arms and legs to create a single visual image. Perhaps, in portions of this dance, the leftmost dancer symbolizes the deceased.[145]

The dance commences with dancers 1 and 2.[146] Their static posture allows the audience to recognize the event is about to begin. The corresponding phrase "look, making a quick passage" (line 1.3), is the first movement in this dance.

The sequence of funerary events begins with dancers 3 and 4. They positionally resemble the *mww* dancers of the New Kingdom,[147] who precede the canopic shrine and the tekenu sled. In the Old Kingdom these dancers are associated with the real or symbolic journey of the deceased to Buto and

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[145]An anthropological study of the Yoruba tribe in West Southern Nigeria showed that one dancer imitated the deceased in funeral ceremony (*Nature 99*, 491). Dr. Cathleen Keller (personal communication) believes that, especially in the New Kingdom, there are cases where a living person takes the place of the deceased in funerary ritual.

[146]The surrounding registers of Mereruka A10 show no relationship to the comparative dancers (Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 87).

[147]c.f. Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pl. XI; Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, pl. 4.

Sais.[148] The '*mww*' in the Old Kingdom are directly related to the corporate body, whereas in the New Kingdom they are associated with items containing real or symbolic parts of the body.

One of the two inscriptions associated with dancers 3/4 seems to relate to the funeral ritual. "look, the movement is hidden" seems to refer directly to the dance step, whereas "look, pulling" does not correspond to this dance movement nor does it relate to the dance position in the succeeding representation (fig. 6). Instead, it seems to point to an item in the funeral procession. The sarcophagus containing the body of the deceased is the primary funeral item. When it is represented in Old Kingdom funeral processions it precedes all other funerary objects.[149] Some Old Kingdom scenes show dancers associated with the sarcophagus. Two of these scenes are from the tombs of Mereruka[150] and Ibi.[151] The similarity of the dance position of dancers 3/4 to the *mww*, who accompany the deceased, and the possible reference to an item being dragged in the initial stages of the funeral procession seems to indicate these dancers are symbolically referring to the arrival of the sarcophagus.

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[148]Junker, *MDAIK 9*, (1940), 1-39.

[149]Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 130; Davies, *D. el G. II*, pl. VII; Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XVIII; Tylor, *Paheri*, pl. V; and probably *LD II*, pl. 101b.

In some New Kingdom funeral processions the sarcophagus is preceded by bearers holding objects. These seem to be items used in ritual services and not items destined for internment.

[150]*Ibid.*

[151]Davies, *D. el G. I*, pl. X. The dancers from Ibi have the dance position of B3-N dancers 5/6.

Dancers 5 and 6 have a dance position called the "gold movement" (line 1.6). This movement is also found in Iy-Mery[152] and Ibi.[153] Gold is an important funerary item presented to the deceased.[154] However, presentation of objects to the deceased at this point in the funeral ceremony is premature and does not coincide with the established order of funeral events. This dance movement occurs about the time the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony is performed on funerary statuary. In the Old Kingdom this ceremony occurs in the "House of Gold," ie., the workmen's shop on the east bank.[155] Consequently, the "gold movement" seems to refer to a place, rather than an action.[156]

The visual representation of these dancers has special properties and requires additional discussion. The position of dancers 5 and 6 physically forms *nbw*, the hieroglyph for gold. The associated rightward vertical inscription, *mk nbw iṯi* "look, the movement is gold" (line 1.6) demonstrates a relationship between the dancers and their formation of the word for gold.

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[152]Smith, *History of Sculpture*, fig. 75

[153]Davies, *D. el G. I*, pl. X, although this tomb does not have the accompanying inscription found in B3-N and Iy-Mery, the position of the dancers is similar enough to warrant it's designation as the gold movement.

[154]c.f., Borchardt, *Sahure II*, fig. 9; Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. IV. One text, tentatively dated to the Old Kingdom, describes a funerary liturgy. One of the performed acts is a man bearing a table of gold (Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA 41*, 14). This is probably a reference to the objects of the table, rather than the table itself. Gold is probably symbolic of the sun where birth and rebirth are the desired aspects of the deceased.

[155]c.f., Sethe, *Urk. I*, 114.

[156]The stela of Khentemsemti suggests the "Opening of the Mouth" was performed at dawn, "Great and powerful one (*sḫm*) in the House of Gold when the god is born in the morning." c.f., Blackman, *JEA 5*, 155; *Egyptian Stelae II*, pl. 8, line 10; Budge, *Book of the Opening of the Mouth II*, 1; Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 55 ff.

This correspondence is also found in the dance scene of Iy-Mery (fig. 8).

The relationship between physical position of individuals and a specific rendered hieroglyphic sign is shown in figure 15. This illustration uses Elsie Kielland's method for determining points of axis and parallel lines.[157] The schematic diagrams for B3-N and Iy-Mery and the *nbw* sign are very similar. There is also a consistency in the lines of axis and parallelism.[158]

It is no accident that the schematic diagrams of figure 15 are consistent. The ancient Egyptians were very concerned with the aspects of geometrical configuration when they made their wall scenes. Initial diagramming marks were often used to obtain the proper proportions in the scene to be represented. In an Old Kingdom tomb from Giza, these initial diagramming marks are shown bisecting the body and delineating the parts of the human figure (fig. 16).[159]

Related usages of human figures and hieroglyphic signs are found in the substitution of a carved figure for an equivalent hieroglyphic ideogram.[160] When the name of the deceased is written in front of his carved image, the

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[157]Kielland, *Geometry in Egyptian Art.*

[158]A more conventional connection between dancers and a hieroglyphic word is the so called K3 dancers. They hold their arms in the form of the *K3* sign. (Newberry, *BH II*, pl. VII). Above the dancers is the inscription, *ib3w nfrw n(y) k3*, "The beautiful dances belonging to the Ka." Dancers from the tomb of Hetepherakhti also have dancers in this 'ka posture' preceding the funeral statue (Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 3).

[159]*LD II*, pl. 65.

The use of geometric proportions has been previously applied in art to the 'canon of proportion' by Iversen, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 1975 and in architecture by Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design: A Study of the Harmonic System*, 1965.

[160]Fischer has shown that this substitution also applies to animals (*The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, pt. 1, 1977, 3, fig. 1). See also Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I*, 1978, fig. 56.

šps ideogram can be substituted by the deceased seated before the table of offerings. The deceased, himself, supplies the determinative for the personal name. Apparently, the inclusion of the *šps* ideogram would have been redundant.[161]

The imitation of words by dancers in the modern day Middle East may relate to some ancient tradition.[162] Some dancers from this region perform a dance while wearing a *tennure* skirt.[163] Its shape resembles an upside down 'lam' ligature in the Arabic alphabet. The 'alif' ligature is formed by the body. Together the costume and body form the 'lam-alif' ligature.[164]

In previous discussion, it was recognized that not all the dance movements appear in B3-N. One non-portrayed movement is found between dancers 5/6 and 7/8. It appears in Iy-Mery with the inscription *mk ṯrf wḥ*' "look, the *ṯrf* dance, a seeking."[165] What is sought is the *M3ṯrwt*, who in textual lines 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 is requested to appear. When she arrives the deceased will then be safely guided into the Afterlife. The function of the

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[161]see also Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 45; Firth and Gunn, *TPC II*, 171, note 2.

The *sr* hieroglyph is also used as a substitution when the deceased is shown standing with a staff observing agricultural work or has offering bearers bringing produce to him. cf. the tomb of Ipi, In Smith, *History*, pl. 56; Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. XXI. In Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl. V, the representations of the offering bearers substitute for the determinative of their personal names.

[162]M. Trad (personal communication) has found ancient Egyptian words for agriculture still being used today. Agricultural tools, such as the shaduf, seem to have little structural change from their New Kingdom representations. See also figure 9. This game still continues to be played in the Middle East.

[163]a wide skirt worn by the Sufi order Mervilevis.

[164]Kücük,H., *2 Tarikatlar ve Türkler Üzerindeki Müsbet Tesirleri*, Türdav, Istanbul,1980, 143.

[165]The legs of the dancers substitute for the walking leg determinative.

M3trwt is for protection, but how she performs this task is unclear. Apparently, she enters into the ritual after the deceased is on the western shore. No known scenes show her accompanying the deceased in their journey across the water. On this aquatic journey the deceased is protected by the *ḏrt* and occasionally by the *wrt*.[166]

Dancers 7 and 8 are accompanied by the inscription, "look, the 'Beautiful One' is taken..." This part of the funeral ritual seems to be the "crossing of the firmament." This crossing symbolizes the transference of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead.[167]

The "Beautiful One" as the funerary statue embodying the K3 of the deceased was also required to "cross the firmament." The dancers from Akhethotep are comparable to dancers 7 and 8 of B3-N (fig. 17). The associated scenes of Akhethotep show funeral boats and the dragging of statuary. In the dance of Wa'tetkhethor, this dance phase symbolically represents funerary statuary transported to the western shore.[168]

> "O Osiris this N, you have crossed heaven, you traversed the firmament; those who are in the (winding) canal praise you, when they see you when you arise in the eastern horizon."[169]

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[166]These are names for Nephthys and Isis. A perusal of the illustrations in Wilson's article in *JEA 3* and Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24; Fischer, *Varia*, 39ff, show how they were employed.

Just as the *ḏrt* and *wrt* were impersonated by a living person, probably a priestess, the *M3ꜣrt* most likely also had an impersonator.

[167]For discussion on the "crossing of the firmament," see Wilson, *JNES 3*, 205 ff.

[168]For a description of these scenes see Smith, *History*, 193-94. Discussion of the transportation of statuary can be found in Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 19.

[169]*CT I*, Spell 18, 54. For a detailed discussion of the "crossing of the firmament" see Wilson, *JEA 3*, 208-210.

The aspect of rising in the eastern horizon is a reference to the rising of the sun. The body positions of dancers 7 and 8 form a circle and symbolize the circular movement of the sun.

The inscription from Mereruka associated with the dancers comparable to dancers 7 and 8 in B3-N has the word *ḏbn*. This is most likely a variation of the word *dbn*.[170] *dbn*, to turn a circle "like the sun" was noted by Mercer to be equated to Osiris where the term "The Circle" is an epithet for Osiris.[171] The "Circle" is also alluded to in the *Coffin Texts* where the deceased crosses the firmament and rises as the sun in the East.[172]

With the exception of dancer 13/14, there are no known dance parallels for dancers 9 through 17. Since no other examples of these dance movements are extant, we must rely on the text and the movements of the dancers to provide the necessary information for visual analysis.

The apposition of dancers 1/2 and 9/10 may indicate all movements between these dancers are repeated.[173] Apposition in modern dance notation

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[170]Edel, *Äg. Gr. I*, sections 17 and 122, has shown that in the transition from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom *d* was often substituted for *ḏ*.

[171]*Pyramid Texts*, vol. 3, 775, *PT 1425*.

[172]*CT 53-54*.

Chapter 178 of *The Book of the Dead*, has the "Circle" clearly related to Osiris.

> " O you who are in charge of the hours, who are before Re, make a path for N. that he may pass within the circle of Osiris, Lord of Ankh-towe, living forever."

The Twelfth Hour of Maa-Nefert-Re brings Re into the "Circle." We are told that Nut as a form of Re comes into the Circle when he is born. He goes forth from the Duat and rests in the Mantit and then rises from the womb of Nut, the mother of the sun. c.f., Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians II*, 102.

[173]see also Hickman, *BIE 37*, 185.

is used to signify repetition between the two points of apposition. When one considers the precision of the portrayed choreography in B3-N, the representation of apposition may be a form of ancient Egyptian dance notation. If there is repetition, it would certainly help to explain the strange axial arrangement of the clappers in registers I and II. Their configuration would be a supplemental visual clue for repetition.[174] The stepping position of dancers 9 and 10 may symbolically represent the entrance of the deceased into the "House of Purification," since associated line 2.7 introduces the funerary structures.

The structure where the dance phase of Iy-Mery occurs[175] and the subsequent inscriptions of B3-N indicate this is the stage in the funeral ceremony where the deceased would have entered the *ibw* "House of Purification." It is the beginning of the performance of inner rites by the priests. In "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys" only the priests were allowed in these ceremonies.

> "Now when this (the rites) is recited, the place is to be completely secluded, not seen and not heard by anyone except the chief lector-priest and the *stm* priest."[176]

Since family and friends are excluded from these inner rites, the dancers assume what may be their primary function. They symbolically convey information about these funeral rituals to the secular audience whenever sacred rites are performed. "look, the secret of the harim" (line 3.6) indicates these dancers were instructed on certain aspects of the

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[174]There is a strong possibility this dance is in ten meter. If so, then a repetition would only occur once.

[175]*LD II*, 52.

[176]c.f., Lichtheim, *Lit. III*, 120.

funerary ritual. This would have been necessary if the correspondence between the unseen rituals and the symbolism of the dance was to be maintained. Textual line 4.7 "look, as a knowledgeable one" is directed not to the dancers, but to the audience. They are being instructed to observe this dance and perceive the meaning of the symbolic portrayals.

The vertical inscription located to the right of dancers 9/10, "look, all pavilions and the audience hall" (line 2.6) is related to the succeeding phrase "look, you praise the festival of birth" (line 3.1). The former gives us the structures used in the funeral ceremony while the latter informs us of the specific type of ceremony. Dancers 11 and 12 are, by their dance movements, rejoicing at the rebirth of the deceased.

The festival of birth is performed in the "House of Purification" where lustrated water is poured over the body of the deceased.

> "The Water of Life which is in heaven comes, the Water of Life which is on earth comes. Heaven burns for you, earth trembles for you before the god's birth. It seizes the body of NN (Neferkare). O NN Pure water kisses your feet. It is from Atum, which the phallus of Shu made, brought forth from the vulva of Tefenet. They have arrived and brought to you pure water from their father. It purifies you, you are incensed... The libation is poured to the outside of this NN."[177]

Grdseloff has contended that lustration for rebirth was performed in the *ibw* "House of Purification."[178] Lustration scenes are common in the New Kingdom. Before this period I know of only one stela which shows the lustration of the deceased. It has been dated to the XII Dynasty, but the art style and language point to a First Intermediate date. This scene has the deceased arising from a bed. Two women, presumably Isis and Nephthys,

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[177]*PT 2063a-2066b... PT 2067b.*

[178]*Reinigungszelt, 35-36.*

assist him while water is poured over his body. A ladder is over the heads of these figures and probably relates to the deceased climbing to heaven (fig. 18.).[179]

The association of rebirth with water directs us to the "House of Purification" as the place of where the ceremony of rebirth is performed.[180]

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[179]This stela is reproduced in Gayet, *Stèle de la XII dynastie*, pl. C15. The climbing of the deceased to heaven can be found in numerous parts of the *Pyramid Texts*.

[180]Although the day of burial is also called the day of birth; *rnnwt.f hrw n(y) msit.f r 3ḫ* "He is exalted on the day of his birth, so that (he) may become a 'Blessed Spirit," (Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXI). The day of birth is also related to the "House of Embalmment," "... I was cleansed on the day of my birth in the two great and noble marshes... They are the Lake of Natron and the Lake of *M3't*," (*BD*, Chapter 17). These seem to be additional phases of the rebirth ritual.

Rebirth and water is also found in connection to a secular ritual. The ritual lustration of the king was performed each sunrise in the *pr-dw3t*, "House of Morning." When he was lustrated he became pure and was then able to be reborn like his counterpart -- the sun god Re-Atum, c.f., Blackman, *JEA 5*, 153.

Many funeral rituals and practices seem to be derived from secular life. The early equation of the king with the sun was expanded in the late V, early VI Dynasties to include non-royalty. The purification of the king by water for rebirth now became a requirement for private individuals in their death ritual. The importance of water for birth extends to the deceased being born from the goddess Nut. She resides in the celestial waters of the sky (*PT 531a,b, 532a, 623a, 626, 990a, 1416c, 1417a*). The latter refers to the deceased born as the sun god Re. The waters of Nut may also extend to Nut as the mother where the reference could be the amniotic fluid of the womb.

Several funerary texts illustrate Nut pouring water over the deceased. The Papyrus of Nisti-ta-nebet-taui represents Nut in the form of a sycamore goddess lustrating the deceased. The inscription on her tree trunk reads, "Nut the Great, who gives birth to the gods" (Piankoff, *Myth. Pap.*, pl. 16; 97).

Even though this papyrus is from the later XXI Dynasty it conforms with Old Kingdom religious belief. A text from the same period even uses Old Kingdom phraseology, "Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, you have ascended to heaven, you have crossed the firmament" (*Ibid.*, 158).

The dancers of register III revolve around the movement and gesture of dancer 13/14 (fig. 13). She is the most prominent figure in this register. Her gesture is the same as those of dancers 18, 19, 20 and 21. One arm is placed across their chest and the other is positioned against the buttocks. Müller in his article, *Darstellungen von Gebärden auf Denkmälern des Alten Reiches*, generally observed that boys/men have their hand in a fist across their chest, while girls/women have their hand across their chest with an open palm.[181] This pose is often repeated in Old Kingdom wall relief in varying contexts. It is used by priests before the king,[182] a mother before her son,[183] the deceased before an offering bearer,[184] servants; possibly priests before the deceased,[185] sons and daughters before their father,[186] the wife of the deceased on the inner doorjamb of the false door,[187] the deceased on the doorjambs of their false door,[188] and the deceased seated before a table

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[181]Müller, *MDAIK* 7, 100

[182]Bissing, *Ne-woser-re*, pl. 19.

[183]Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* 1929-30, pl. IV.

[184]Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 3a.

[185]Davies, *D. el G. I*, pl. IV.

[186]Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 28.

[187]Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* fig. 169; Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 27, on the other inner doorjamb stands her husband, the deceased in the exact same pose.

[188]Épron and Daumas, *Le Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. 39.

receiving offerings.[189] All of the cited examples show that the person who bears this gesture is, just as our dancers, in a static posture.[190]

Müller was of the opinion that this was a gesture of modesty for women, while for men it signified superiority.[191] However, this gesture appears as a customary greeting among people of the same social class from Old Kingdom onward.[192] It seems more likely this gesture is an act of respect and reverence.[193] In an Old Kingdom tomb from Giza, the owner Mersyankh is shown with this gesture before a man with a hyena. Above her is the inscription (1) *Ḥtp di nswt Inpw ḥty sḥ-nṯr* (2) *3ḫt špsst ḫr nṯr '3 nb smyt* (1) "A boon which the king gives and Anubis foremost of the divine booth (2) to a spirit (Mersyankh) who is noble in the sight of the great god, lord of the desert".[194] The man is a *ḥm-k3*-priest, who may be ritualistically emulating the king and Anubis. As a consequence, he would be deserving of the respect shown by the deceased. At Beni Hassan this gesture is accompanied by the phrase *im3ḫ r Wsir*, "honor is due to Osiris."[195] This posture is also assumed by foreigners who present themselves to the tomb

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[189]Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. XXI; Davies, *D. el G. I*, pl. XIX; Müller found the pose to be the same whether one is seated or standing, *MDAIK* 7, 100. Comparing plates V and XVIII in Davies, *D. el G. I*, the former shows the wife seated under the deceased, the latter a daughter standing behind the deceased. Both have the same pose and seem to support Müller's contention.

[190]This gesture is also held by the "Kite," or chief mourner, in funeral processional scenes. See Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24; Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, fig. 56.

[191]Müller, *MDAIK* 7, 100.

[192]Müller, *MDAIK* 7, 100; Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, pl. XIII.

[193]Wilson echoes this thought in *JNES* 3, 203. Fischer gives this same opinion in *Varia*, Egyptian Studies I, 48.

[194]translation by Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 9; fig. 3a.

[195]Newberry, *BH II*, pl. XXIV. Compare with *PT 1289*.

owner.[196] Given the Egyptian attitude toward foreigners, it can not, in this case, connotate anything other than respect.

The dancers of B3-N are servants of the deceased and would naturally be required to show her respect.[197] This gesture is also a visual clue to the audience. It indicates respect is now necessary for the deceased. Dancer 13/14 is signaling the beginning of a critical stage in the inner funerary rites.

The representation of dancer 13/14 helps to explain the dance configuration of figure 13 and the cause for deviation from the normal arrangement of the dancers. The combination of the hair ball and the body position of dancer 13/14 represents the *3ḫt* hieroglyph (fig. 19).[198] This is the word for "horizon." It is often used for the birth of the sun and the relationship of the deceased as an embodiment of the sun. Dancer 13/14 symbolically represents the transformation of the deceased from this world to the Netherworld.[199] The axial alignment of the three dancers in figure 13 represents the spirits of the deceased -- *K3. 3ḫ* and *B3.*[200]

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[196]Aldred, *The Egyptians*, 1966, pl. 35. Presumably, this was an occurrence that happened in the deceased's lifetime.

[197]This gesture is used in the Orient today as one of subservience; c.f. Müller, *MDAIK 7*, 94.

[198]For the hair ball symbolizing the sun see footnote 39. The pyramids of Khufu and Khafre at Giza were also used to represent the *3ḫt* sign. On the day of the summer solstice the sun is positioned directly between the junction of these two pyramids.

[199]In the dance performance the rendition of dancer 13/14 would not have been seen. The 180 degree turn may have been the socially recognizable clue which symbolized the *3ḫt* sign. This turn could have referred to the daily journey of the sun across the sky.

[200]*3ḫ* occurs in Old Kingdom inscriptions very rarely. Two instances are *Urk. I*, 14, 6-7 and Lichtheim, *Lit. I*, 24, note 1.

The process for rebirth of the deceased into the Afterlife is complex and requires many stages of preparation. The next mortuary phase is the movement of the sarcophagus from the *ibw* "House of Purification" to the *w'bt* "House of Embalmment." Four mortuary priests, who personify the four sons of Horus, appear to accompany the deceased to the "House of Embalmment" and assist in funeral functions.[201] The sons of Horus wash the body of Osiris[202] and, along with the four sons of Mekhentiri, guard the corpse of Osiris in the "Place of Purification."[203] *The Book of the Dead*, Chapter 17, from the Papyrus of Ani, illustrates the deceased rising out of the coffin with an ankh symbol in each hand. The four sons of Horus flank the sarcophagus and stand in guard against malevolent demons.

The appearance of the four sons of Horus at this time is shown by line 3.4, "O a quartet." They guard the purified corpse and safely transport it to the next funeral phase -- the "House of Embalmment."[204] The next textual 3.5, "come and pull" does not relate to the dancers. They are not represented in pulling motion. It refers to the movement of the sarcophagus.

The successive movements of dancers 15, 16 and 17 may be the summation of movements involved in the *ḳḥt* ritual bend. If this is a ritual act by a king or priest before a god,[205] this dance movement could refer to the priest addressing the gods of the Underworld with the so-called

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[201]Breasted, *Development*, 154-55, *PT 1085-6, 1105, 1206* and *Pyr. Ut. 325, 479, 520, 563, 573.*

[202]*PT 1983.*

[203]*BD*, Chapter 17; Sethe, *Urk. V*, 43.

[204]The fact that four priests impersonate the four sons of Horus is probably the reason Egyptian funeral scenes prefer four dancers.

[205]Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA 33*, 23, footnote i.

"Recitation of Glorifications." The resemblance of dancer 15 to dancer 17 shows a conceptual continuity in the progressive movement of these three dance phases.

Dancer 16's hands are raised in front of her. This gesture is found as the determinative in the Egyptian words *i3w* "adoration" and *dw3* "to adore."[206] In a tomb contemporary to Pepi II, it is made by the son and daughter to the deceased.[207] Above them is the inscription *im3ḫ ḫr nṯr '3* "venerated before the great god." This gesture is used in New Kingdom scenes by the deceased before a god.[208] The act of adoration may be part of the *ḳḥt* ritual and may simply refer to the transformation of Wa'tetkhethor into a "Blessed Spirit."

The gesture of dancer 17 seems to be symbolic for the "Recitation of Glorification" by the *ḫry-ḥbt*-priest. When *ḫry-ḥbt*-priests hold the book scroll for this recitation their gesture is very similar to that of dancer 17 (fig. 20).[209] It may be possible that the "Recitation of Glorification" is actually part of the larger ritual act of the *kht*.

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[206]c.f. Müller, *MDAIK* 7, 94.

[207]Jéquier,G., *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*, fig. 129. Two other persons are present and are probably offspring, though they are not identified as such.

[208]Lange and Hirmer, *op.cit.*, pl.153; Cramer, M., "*Die Inschriften der Berliner Amarnatür 20376*," *MDAIK* 9, 120-31, fig. 2; Quibell and Hayter, *op.cit.*, pl. XVII.

[209]Examples of this gesture among these priests include, Bissing, *op.cit.*, pl.21; Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 4, no. 15.

In the funerary scene of Qar the *ḫry-ḥbt*-priest gives the *s3ḫt* "making the glorification," before him are embalmer and the "Kite" who also hold this gesture. Both are *ḏd-mdw* making a "recitation," Simpson, *Qar*, fig. 24.

The "Recitation of Glorification" is normally first given when the deceased arrives inside the *w'bt* "House of Embalmment." The rites of the "House of Purification" are for rebirth, whereas the "House of Embalmment" insures that the purified body will not decompose, but remains intact and eternal. Now that the body is preserved the deceased must appear before the Underworld tribunal where the purity of the soul of the deceased is questioned. The priests have performed the required rituals to insure the trial will have a successful outcome. The associated inscriptions of dancers 18 through 21 and their static gestural movement of reverence seem to support that this is the judgement portion of the funeral. The crucial nature of this ritual requires a static position. Any disruption of the rites during this perceived judgement of the deceased could potentially cause the deceased to not be granted eternity.

Although it is commonly believed that judgement of the dead does not occur until later in Egyptian history, early VI Dynasty inscriptions seem to indicate it is already in active use.

> "There is no speech against the King on earth in the presence of men; there is no crime of his in heaven in the presence of the gods; the King has removed speech against him; the King has destroyed it in order to ascend to heaven."[210]

> "There is no living person who brings a charge against the King, there is no dead person who brings a charge against the King; there is no goose who brings a charge against the King, there is no offering-bull who brings a charge against the King."[211]

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[210]PT 462a-c. Some may contend that the king can not sit before judgement by a tribunal in the Afterlife, since the king is god incarnate and *PT 309c* declares, " The king can not sit in the council of the god." Faulkner has very clearly pointed out the main objection to such contentions, "there will be no session on him," implies that judgement after death was to be normally expected (*JEA 57*, 209).

[211]*PT 386a, b.*

"This King has not abused the King, he has not treated Bastet too familiarly, he has not committed a wrong as a *Wera*-official."[212]

"This King keeps himself far from what men abominate, his hands are not upon what the gods abominate. The King has not eaten of the *das* plant."[213]

The declarations of innocence found in the *Pyramid Texts* are also found in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. In both texts the statement declares a lack of blemish on the character of the deceased and occurs before the ascension into heaven.[214] From the IV Dynasty onward royal texts of moral defense occur with increasing frequency in private tombs with the substitution of the name of the king with the name of the deceased.[215]

The general phraseology of these declarations consists of two variable types:

"I never did anything evil to anyone."[216]

"I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and ferried the boatless."[217]

These passages declare a moral character possessed by the deceased. One questions their appearance in the Old Kingdom since, if there is no judgement of the dead, they should not occur. Instead they seem to be a conscious attempt at influencing a positive judgement by Osiris and the court

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[212]*PT 892a-c.*

[213]*PT 2082c-2083a.*

[214]I am indebted to Mr. C. Raye for pointing out that the main purpose of chapter 125 in the *Book of the Dead* is the ascension into heaven.

[215]The declarations use nearly the same terminology as their counterparts in the *Book of the Dead*.

[216]Sethe, *Urk. I*, 40 ff.

[217]c.f., Sethe, *Urk. I*, 133, 1-3 ff. This phrase frequently occurs in Old Kingdom private tombs.

of the Netherworld.[218]

The phrase "They will complete the judge," is unknown to me in any other inscription. The only Old Kingdom usage of *km* with a similar meaning is in *PT 628b*, "To you come both your sisters Isis and Nephthys, you are complete and great in your name, 'The Great Black One'." Two other parallels use *tjm* instead of *km*. The first is from *PT 1298*, "Arise, so that you may sit on the throne of Osiris, your flesh being complete as Atum," the second is from the tomb of Debehni where, "His flesh is complete."[219] These phrases show a hope that the body is not corrupted, but remains complete like Osiris. Perhaps even in this early date the deceased has assumed Osirian form. In the later *Coffin Texts*, the women become Hathors and the men become Osiris'. Since this is new religious dogma in the VI Dynasty, there may not have been such sophisticated distinctions.[220]

The funerary ritual in the "House of Embalmment" is finished and the deceased has received eternity (line 4.4). Wa'tetkhethor can now receive the "Mystery of Birth" (line 4.6) which will allow her admittance into the "Realm of the Blessed Spirits."[221]

The XXI Dynasty Mythological Papyrus of Khonsu-mes (Bibl. Nat.) refers to these mysteries as the means by which the deceased becomes reborn.

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[218]"If Osiris was the ruler of the gods of the dead, was he not to be regarded as president of any tribunal in the afterworld?" (Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, 183).

[219]*LD II*, 35.

[220]The completeness of the body would have been the responsibility of the *stm* priest alluded to in line 4.2.

[221]This 'mystery' probably performs a similar function to the answers to questions asked to the deceased in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.

"Hail to the Lord, Re
Hail to the Great Birth who is born through his (own power) when born?
Hail to you Re
We cause you to pass by the Mysteries, we cause you to take rest in the East,
Hail to you Osiris, Khonsu-mes, the justified one before Osiris.
Hail to you,
we cause you to pass by the Mysteries,
we cause you to take a rest in the Eastern Mountain."[222]

Dancers 22 and 23 are paralleled in the nearby tombs of Ankhmahor and Kagemni.[223] In the tomb of Kagemni the partial inscription over the heads of the dancers relates to the myth "Hathor in the Gate of the East, greeted by the gods."[224] Although Allam has shown a funerary relationship for Hathor as early as the VI Dynasty,[225] I am not certain of the funerary connection. She is often represented in the Old Kingdom with a sun disk between her horns.[226] As such, "Hathor in the Gate of the East, greeted by the gods," may have a relationship to the concept of rebirth by the deceased incorporated with the daily rising of the sun.[227]

The position of these dancers is very reminiscent of laborers pulling on fishing and bird nets. The pulling posture of these two dancers seems to be related to the associated inscription, "Pull" (line 4.8). However, the emphasis

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[222]Piankoff, *Myth. Pap.*, pl. 30, 214. See also *LD III*, B,1, 280, where a similar inscription is found in the Saite tomb, no. 23, at Saqqara.

[223]Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, fig. 51 and Badawy, *Kagemni*, fig. 3

[224]Badawy, *Ibid.*, 3. Brunner-Traut also believed this posture was related to Hathor. *Der Tanz*, 24, fig. 8.

[225]*Hathorkult*, 22.

[226]See for example the Minkhare triads in the Boston Museum.

[227]In later periods, Hathor has the aspect of rebirth, but it can not be positively stated to have occurred in the Old Kingdom, although there is evidence that Hathor was the original "Mother Goddess" of Egypt, c.f., Allam, *Hathorkult*.

of this text has always been placed on the deceased and as such, the reference of pulling should be directed to a major funerary item. The final resting place of the sarcophagus is the tomb, yet it is still at the "House of Embalmment." Therefore, this reference is probably related to the dragging of the sarcophagus to the tomb.

The movements of dancers 24 and 25 seem to relate to the deceased becoming a "soul." Dancer 24 seems by her arm and leg posture to symbolically represent the *b3* bird -- the hieroglyph for "soul or manifestation of the deceased" (fig. 21). Dancer 25 is holding her arms is a praising position and may be deifying Wa'tetkhethor as a "soul."[228] Her arm position, like that of dancer 16, is one of "adoration." One dancer, who represents the living, adores the other dancer, who seems to represent the emulated "soul" of Wa'tetkhethor. "Adoration of the *B3*" is very frequent in the New Kingdom. The composition of dancer 24 and dancer 25 is reminiscent of these New Kingdom scenes (fig. 22).

> At the death of an individual, they become for the first time a *B3*.[229]
>
> "...after the resuscitation of the body, there was a mental restoration or a reconstitution of the facilities... attained especially by the process of making the deceased a "soul" (ba), in which capacity he again existed as a *person*, possessing all the powers that enable him to subsist and survive in the life hereafter."[230]

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[228]In Mereruka A-13, the two dancers to the right are in a similar dance position in a Hathorian dance (Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 167).

[229]Breasted, *Dawn of Consciousness*, 47. Frankfort has, and I think correctly so, pointed out that "soul" is a simplification of its true meaning (*Kingship*, 64). A more accurate translation is "manifestation." I have translated "soul" here because it is the generally used translation in the literature.

[230]Breasted, *Dawn of Consciousness*, 49.

Although the *B3* is often alluded to in the *Pyramid Texts*,[231] it is not clearly defined until the *Coffin Texts*.[232]

In Old Kingdom private inscriptions the *B3* is rarely mentioned. In one inscription, the lector-priest performs as part of the funeral ritual a beneficial act for the *B3*, according to the secret writing of the lector-priest.[233]

Dancers 26 and 27 form with their arms and legs the *ḫwt* hieroglyph found in the inscription above them (fig. 23). This sign represents the tomb -- the final resting place for the body of the deceased.

The dance position of dancers 28 and 29 shows them as a paired team by the juxtaposition of the arms and legs. The extension of the left arm of dancer 29 to dancer 28 may be a reference to the associated text, "May she give the arm..." (line 5.1). Dancer 29 appears to be extending her arm backwards to dancer 28. Dancer 28 has her left arm raised to receive it. This interaction may possibly refer to the deceased extending his/her arm to the "Goddess of the Western Desert."

> "...Nihebsed-Pepi in his tomb which is in the beautiful desert, when she has taken his hand, when he has made a landing, when he has crossed the firmament. The western desert extends her hands towards him in peace..."[234]

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[231]*PT 472, 477, 785, 1098, 1144, 1449, etc.*

[232]*CT*, Spells 99-104, where the B3 emerges from the secretions of the body and *CT II*, 67, 197, where the B3 takes care of the corpse.

[233]Sethe, *Urk. I*, 186, 14.

The portrayal of dancers 24 and 25 may be a precursor to the New Kingdom scenes of "Adoration of the *B3*."

[234]Wilson, *JNES 3*, 209.

"...that he may be accompanied by his *ka*'s in peace, in peace with Osiris, the Lord of Busiris; and that the western desert may give her hands to him."[235]

" In peace, in peace says the beautiful west, her hands (stretched out) toward the Hereditary Prince N."[236]

Dancers 30 and 31 indicate by inscription and body position the dance is finished. Dancer 30, who probably, represents the deceased must go to the hand of the "Western Desert and those spirits who have precede her," while dancer 29 returns to the land of the people of *it///* on the eastern shore.[237]

The sequence of funeral events in this text follow the other known funeral processions for the Old Kingdom and later periods. The progression of ritual events in this scene is paralleled in the stela of Dhout.

"There is recited for you utterances and glorifications, there is made for you an offering-which-the-king-gives."[238]

Ritual progression in the Old Kingdom is often veiled in metaphor and disassociated representations. There may have been a socially created taboo against actually referring to ritual, whether this is true or not, Wa'tetkhethor certainly broke old traditions by representing her funeral ceremony in her tomb.

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[235]Wilson, *JNES 13*, 247.

[236]Firth and Gunn, *TPC I*, 143.

[237]There does not appear to be any symbolic significance in the hand gestures of dancers 30 and 31. They are simply snapping their fingers to create a cadence. For finger gestures see Schäfer, *Finger und Daumen, Abwehr und Fingerzeig, die 'Faustelle", MDAIK 9*, 146-55. The snapping of fingers for a cadence also applies to the fingers of dancer 16, and possibly other dance figures as well.

[238]Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 56.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

The mural depictions of the ancient Egyptians conveyed more information than we previously understood. This analysis of B3-N has not only increased our knowledge of the role of dance in Old Kingdom funerary ritual, but it also gives us a better understanding of VI Dynasty funerary beliefs and rituals.

The examination of the dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor shows that funerary practices were changing in the VI Dynasty. New elements occur in the depictions, while more familiar ones have become antiquated and consequently displaced. Osiris seems to have gained his primary funerary role in this period. His emergence as the principal funerary god commences a funerary formula which becomes codified as funeral ritual in the following historical periods.

Although it is generally assumed that Old Kingdom funeral services occurred over a two day period, the time involved in the funeral activities of Wa'tetkhethor seem to indicate a longer time span. Regardless, the dancers of B3-N performed on the final day of the funeral ceremony and made symbolic references to the preceding and present funerary events.

Heretofore, the exact position of an Old Kingdom dance in the overall funerary program has never been established. The analysis of the dance of Wa'tetkhethor has helped to establish this role. It reflects not only a

funerary dance but also the funerary ritual and procession of an Old Kingdom noble. The visual transmittal of information by the dancers to the audience alleviated an otherwise uncertain and consequently stressful situation. The family and friends are assured that the necessary rites are being performed and they upon their own deaths could also be assured that they will be given these same rites for admittance into the Afterlife.

In the Old Kingdom, the *Pyramid Texts* allude to ritual, but they do not try to describe nor explain ritual. These texts assume that the participants understand the significance and therefore, they focus on the positive affirmative aspects of the ritual. In the VI Dynasty, the emergence of the narrative in wall scene representations helps to clarify these alluded rituals in the *Pyramid Texts.* The narrative of the dance shows how Wa'tetkhethor would benefit from all the rituals perceived as necessary for the inclusion of the deceased into the realm of the "Blessed Spirits."

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ADAIK Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Gluckstadt-Hamburg-New York.

ÄF Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York.

AJA American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton.

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MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin.

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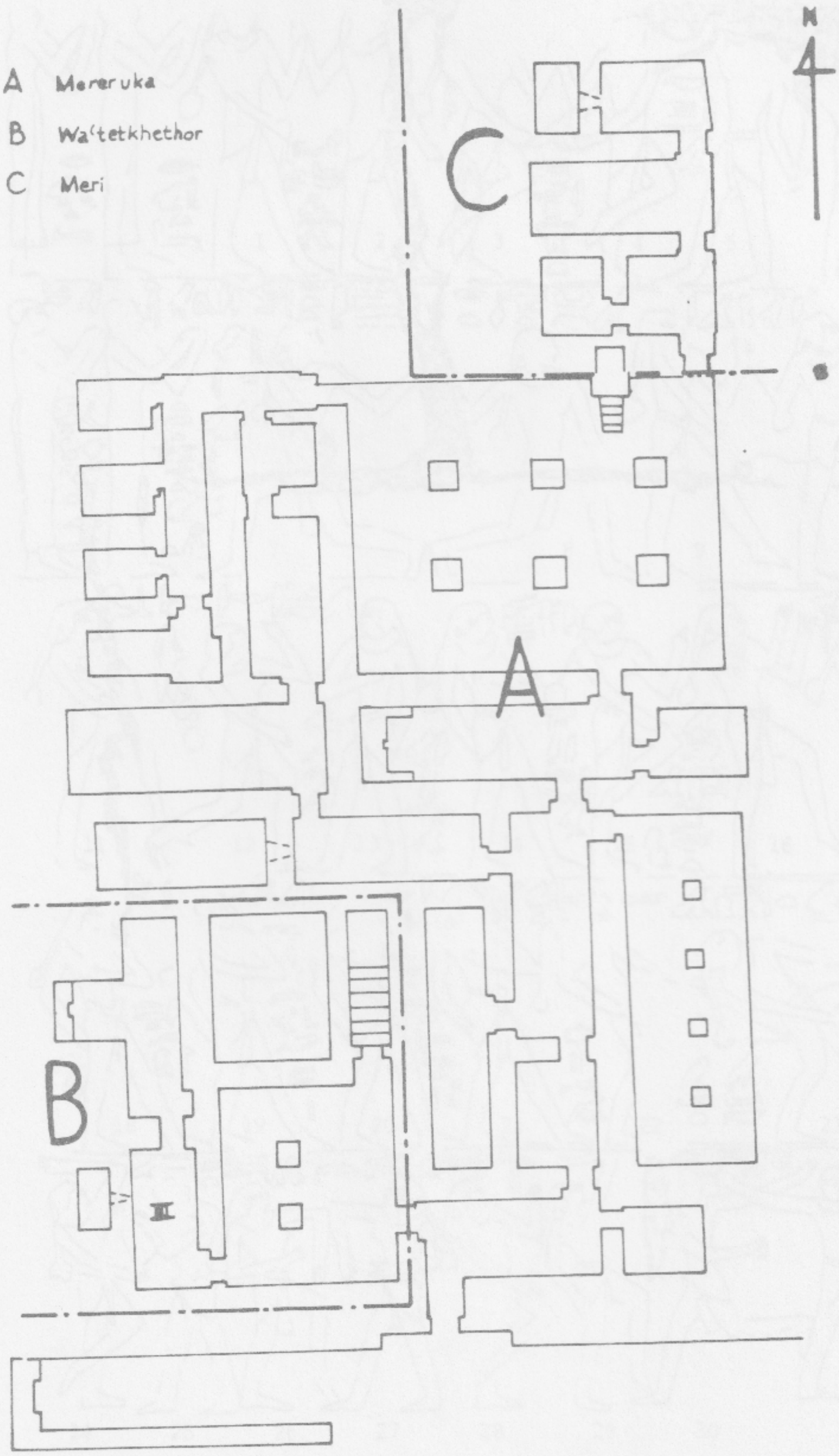
Figure 1

A Mereruka

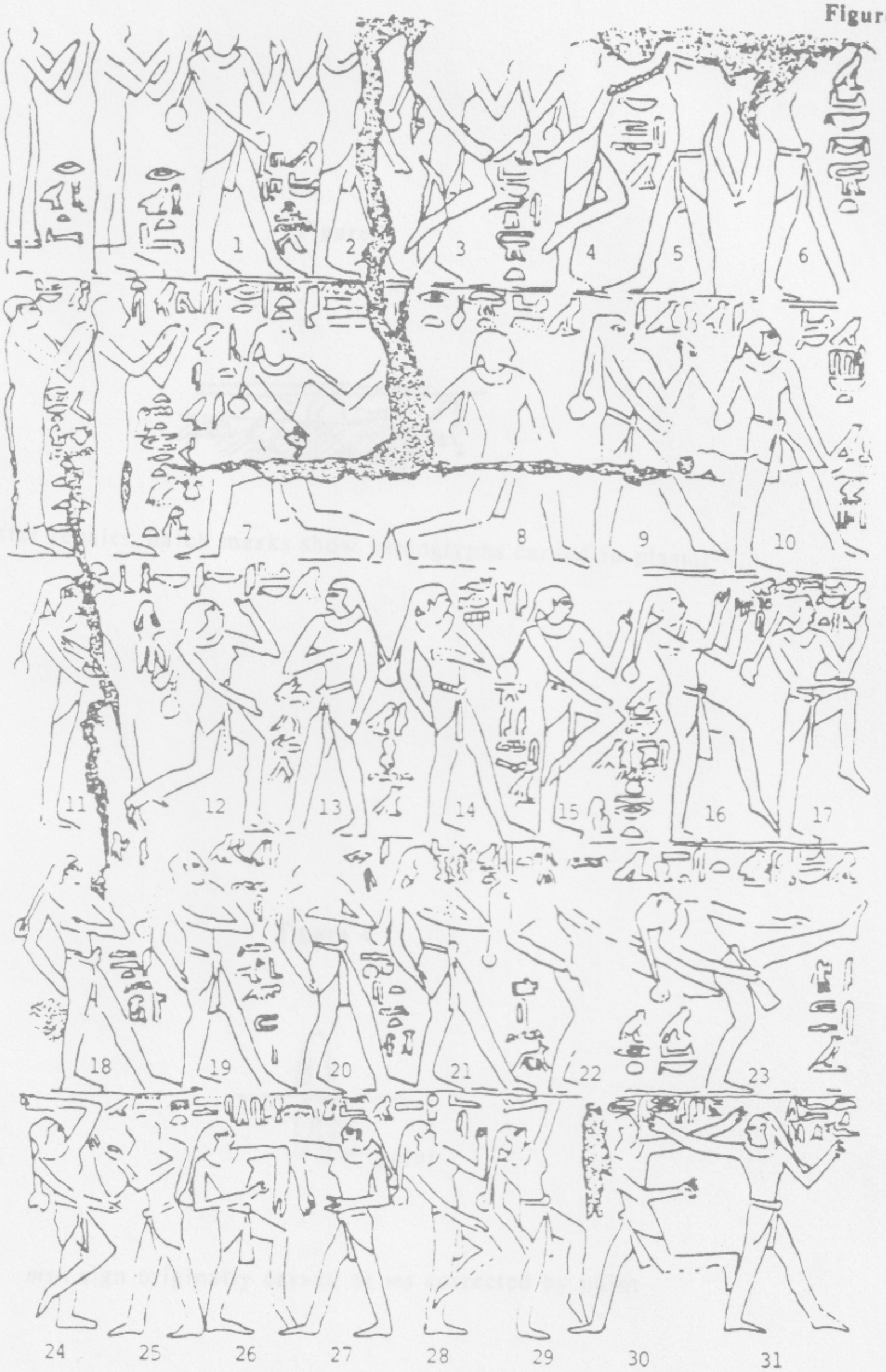
B Wa'tetkhethor

C Meri



Plan of the Mastaba of Mereruka

Figure 2

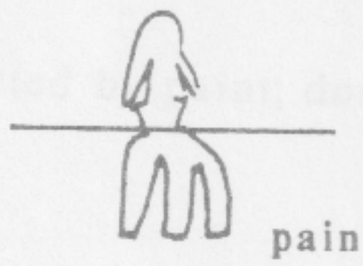


Dance scene of Wa'tetkhethor, chamber B3-Mereruka; north wall

Figure 3

Plaster repairs; hatch marks show hieroglyphs carved in plaster

Figure 4

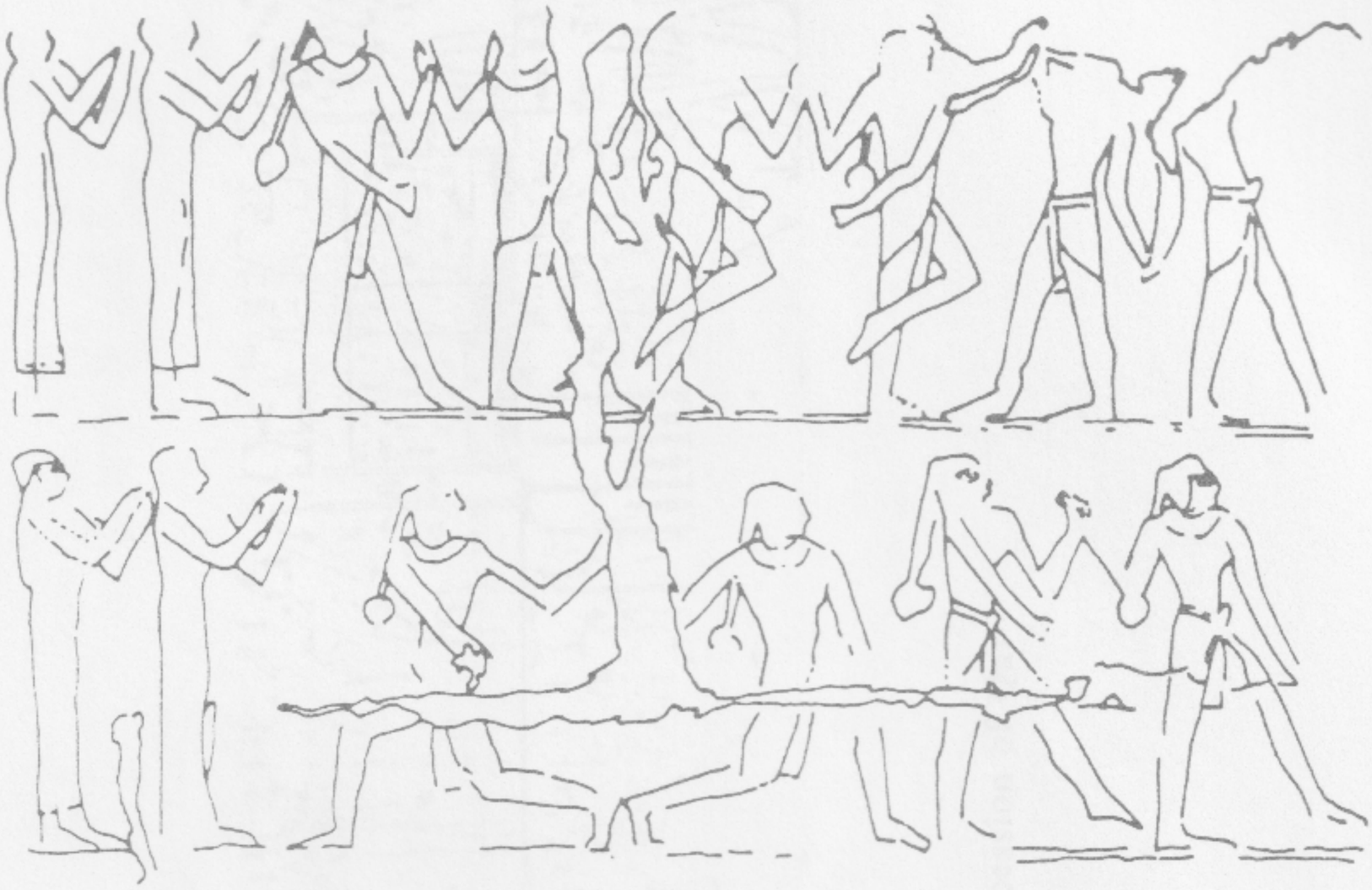


msit sign originally carved as *ms* corrected by paint

Figure 5

Hair bob corrected by paint; dotted line shows correction by paint

Figure 6



Dance scene from Wa'tetkhethor

Dance scene from Mereruka, chamber A10; east wall

Funeral procession of Qar

Figure 7

Dance scene from Iy-Mery

Dance scene from Ibi

Figure 8

Figure 9

Boys playing jumping game; from Ptahhotep

Drawing from photograph of Arab boys playing same game

Figure 10

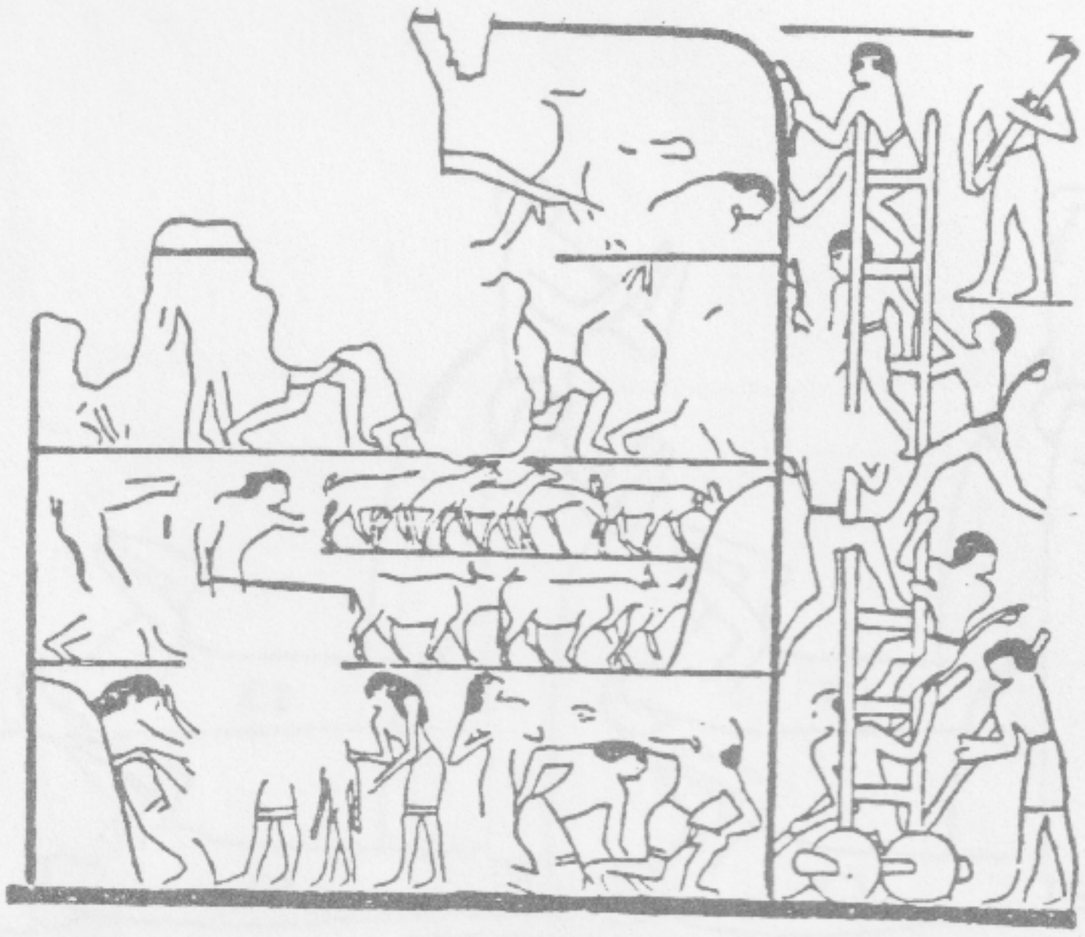


fig. 10a

Siege Scene; from Kaemhest

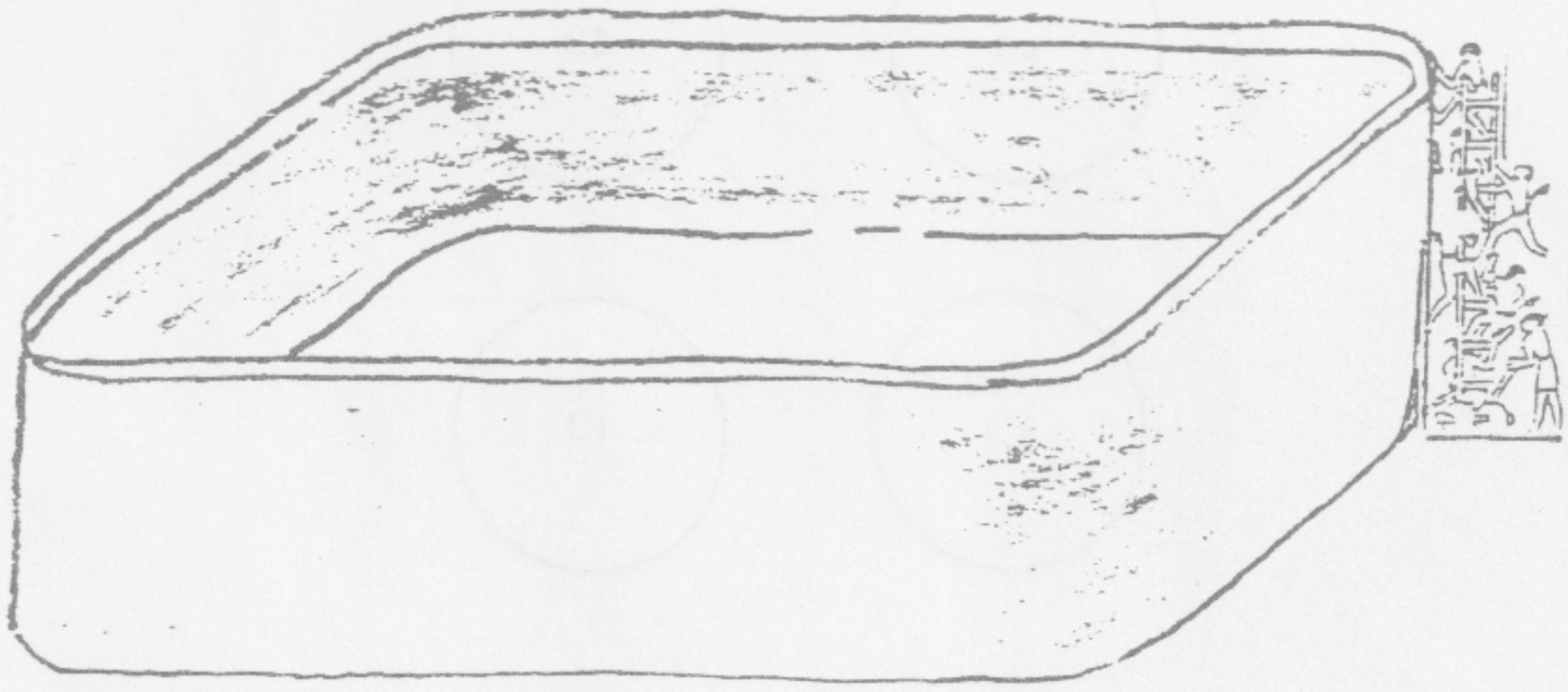
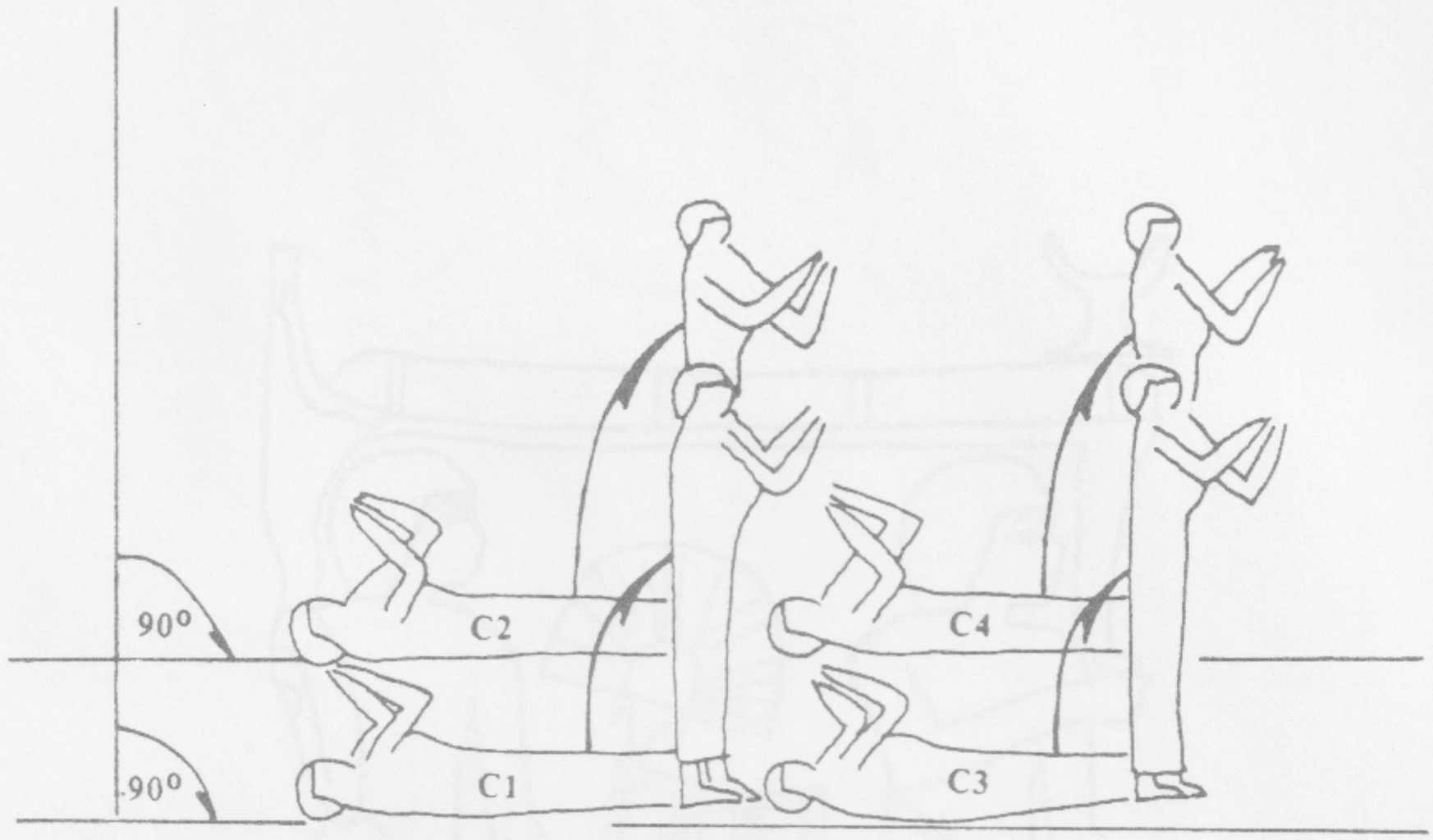


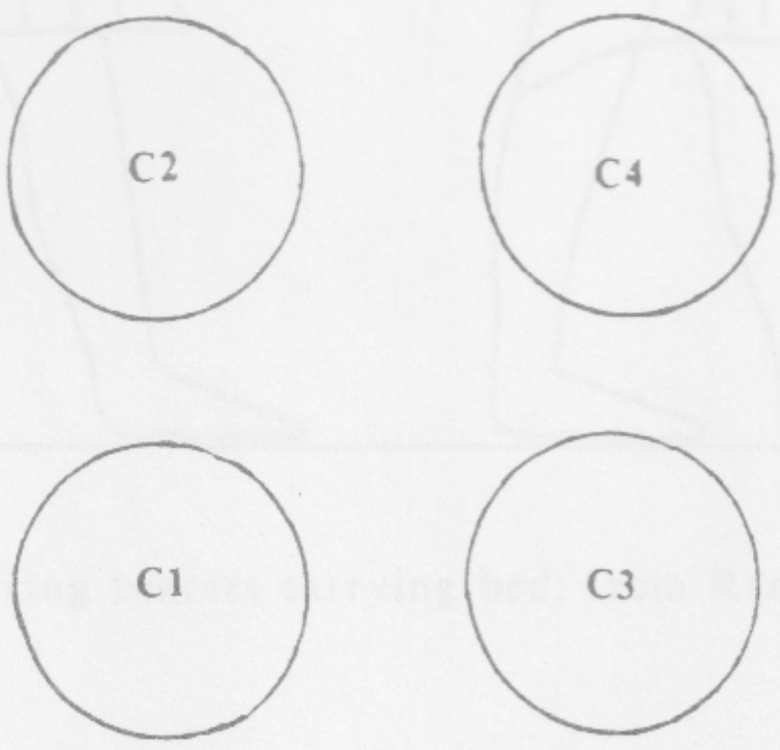
fig. 10b

Reconstruction of Town Walls

Figure 11



90° projection of clappers

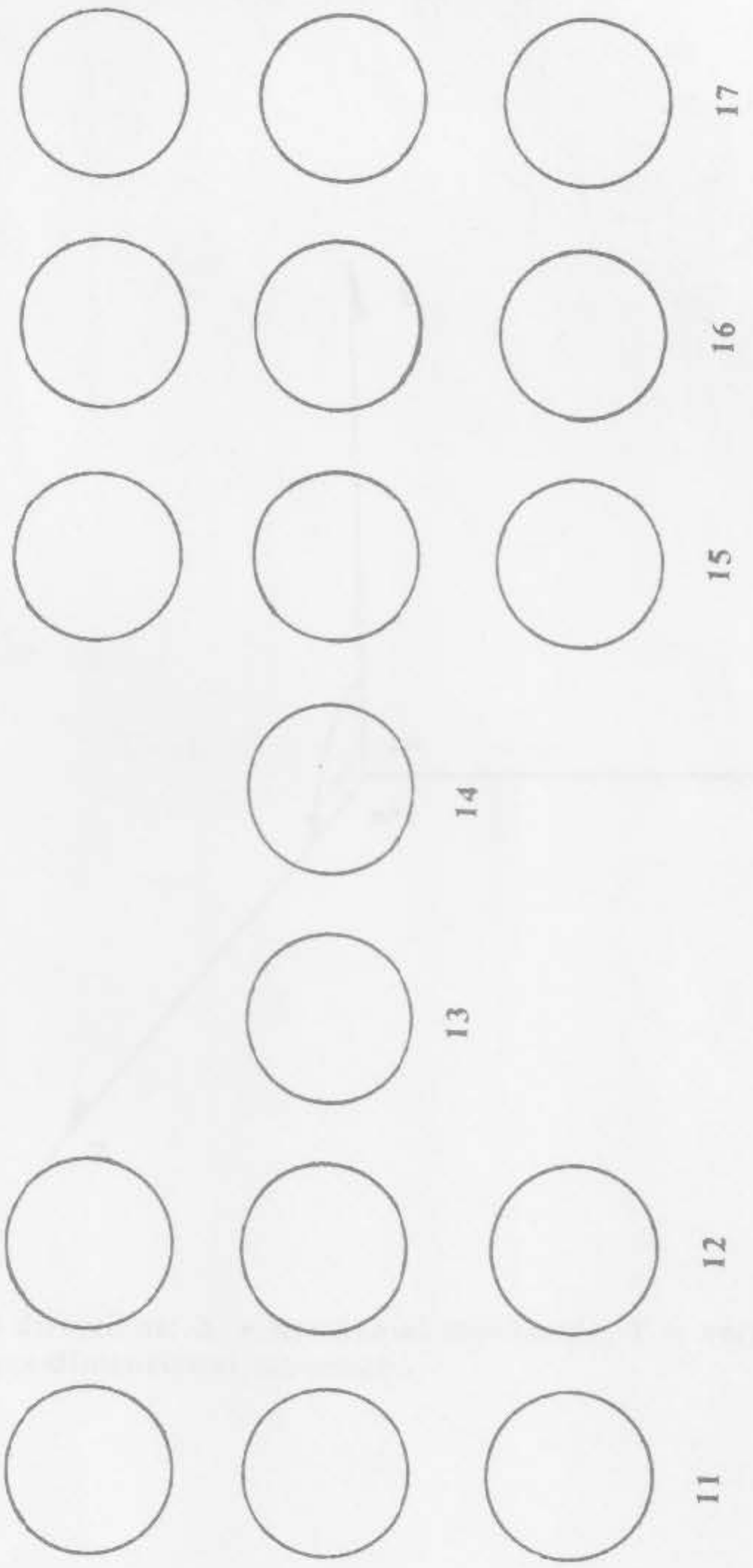


Resultant spatial arrangement

Figure 12

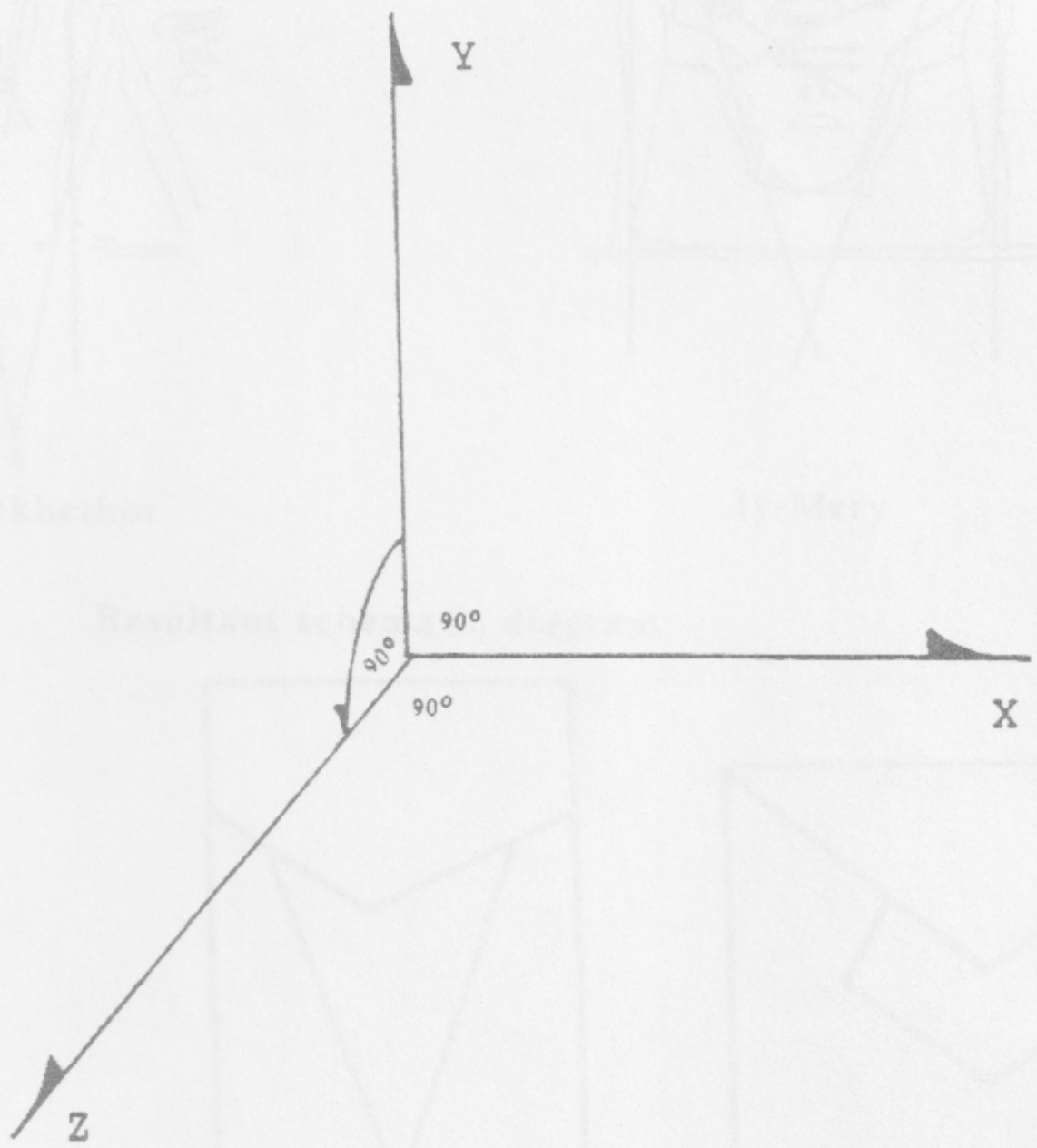
Offering bearers carrying bed; from Ramose

Figure 13



Spatial arrangement for B3-N dancers 11 through 17

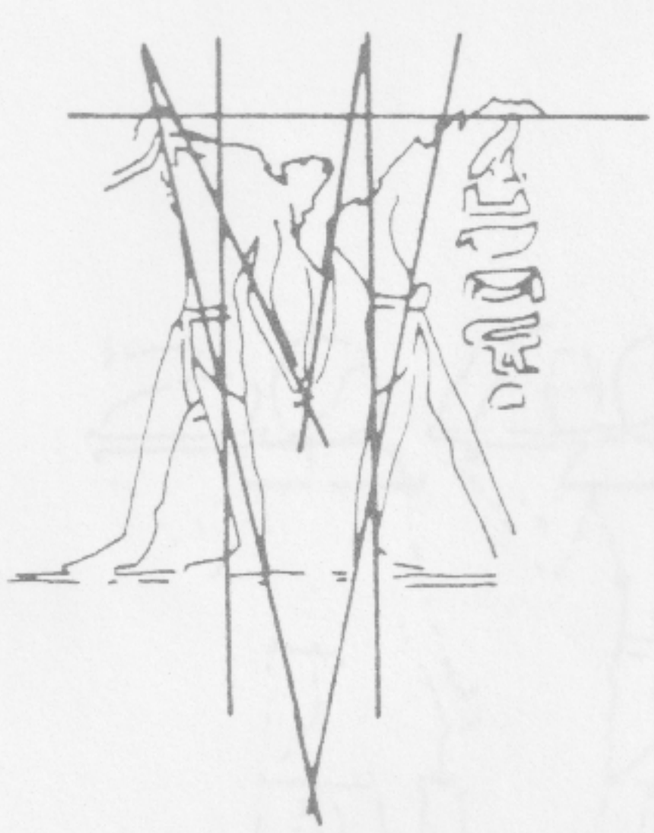
Figure 14



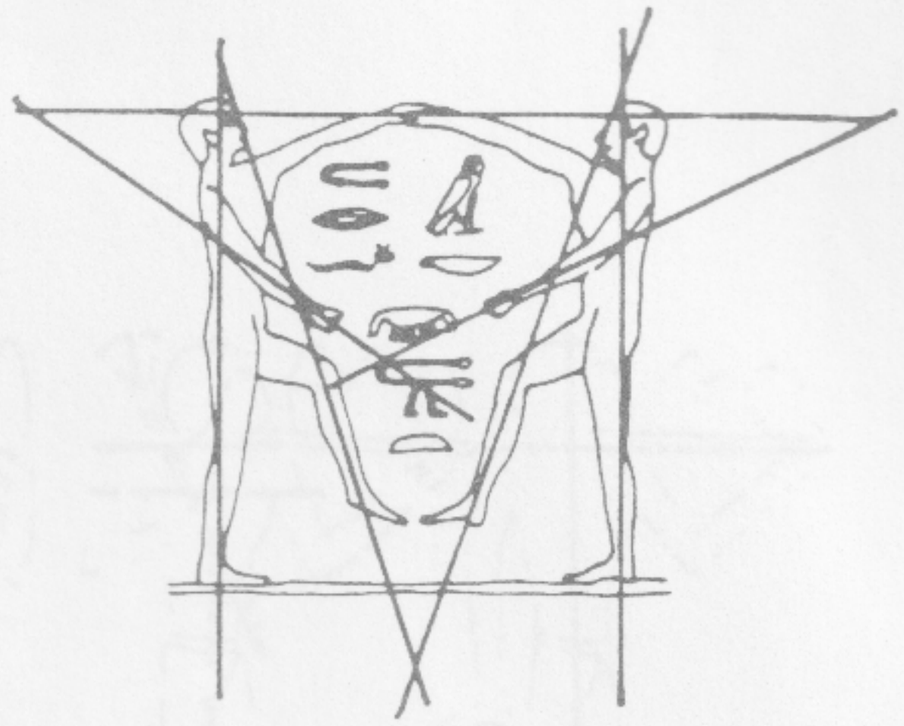
Spatial directions: X = horizontal movement; Y = vertical movement; Z = three-dimensional movement

Figure 15

Parallel lines and lines of axis



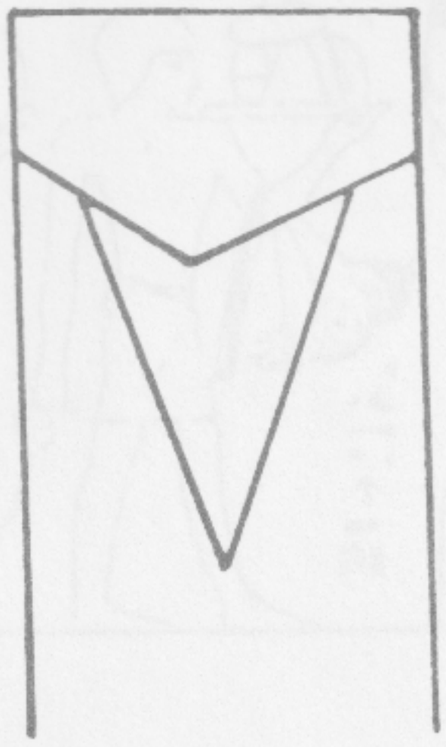
Wa'tetkhethor



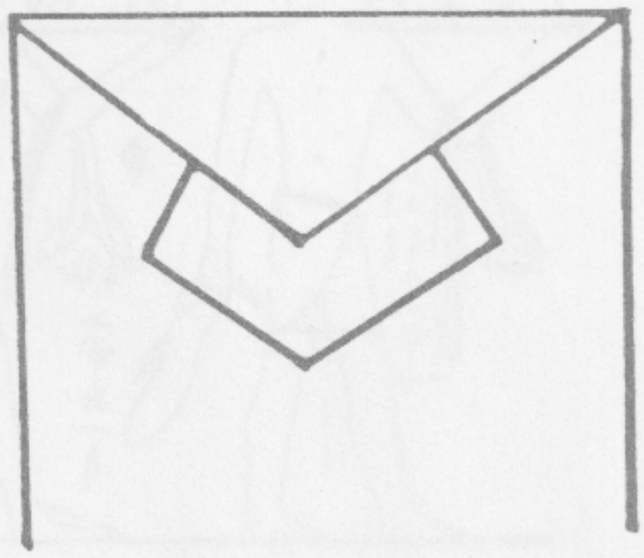
Iy-Mery

Resultant schematic diagram

Wa'tetkhethor

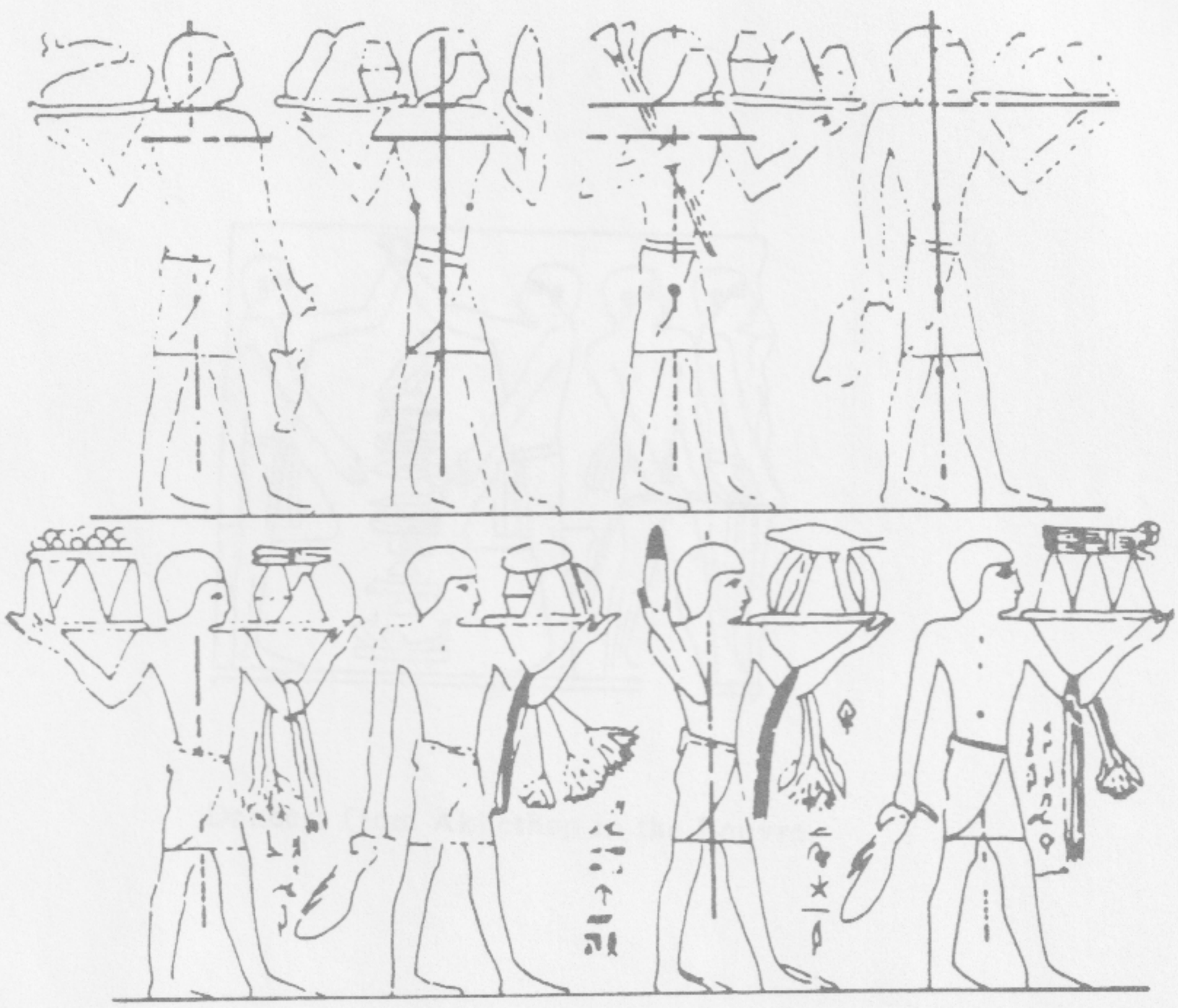


Iy-Mery



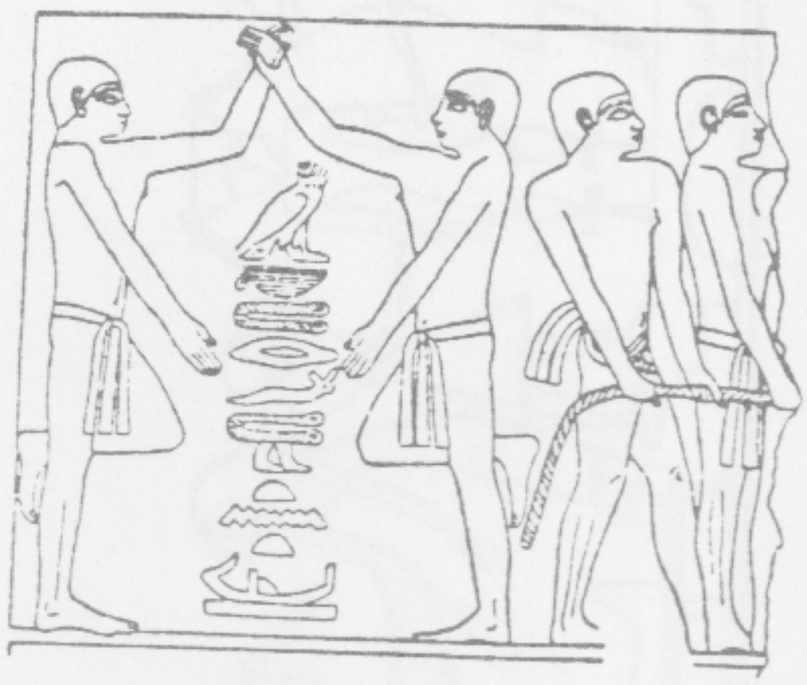
Hieroglyph for gold

Figure 16



Original diagrammatic notations; from unknown tomb at Giza

Figure 17

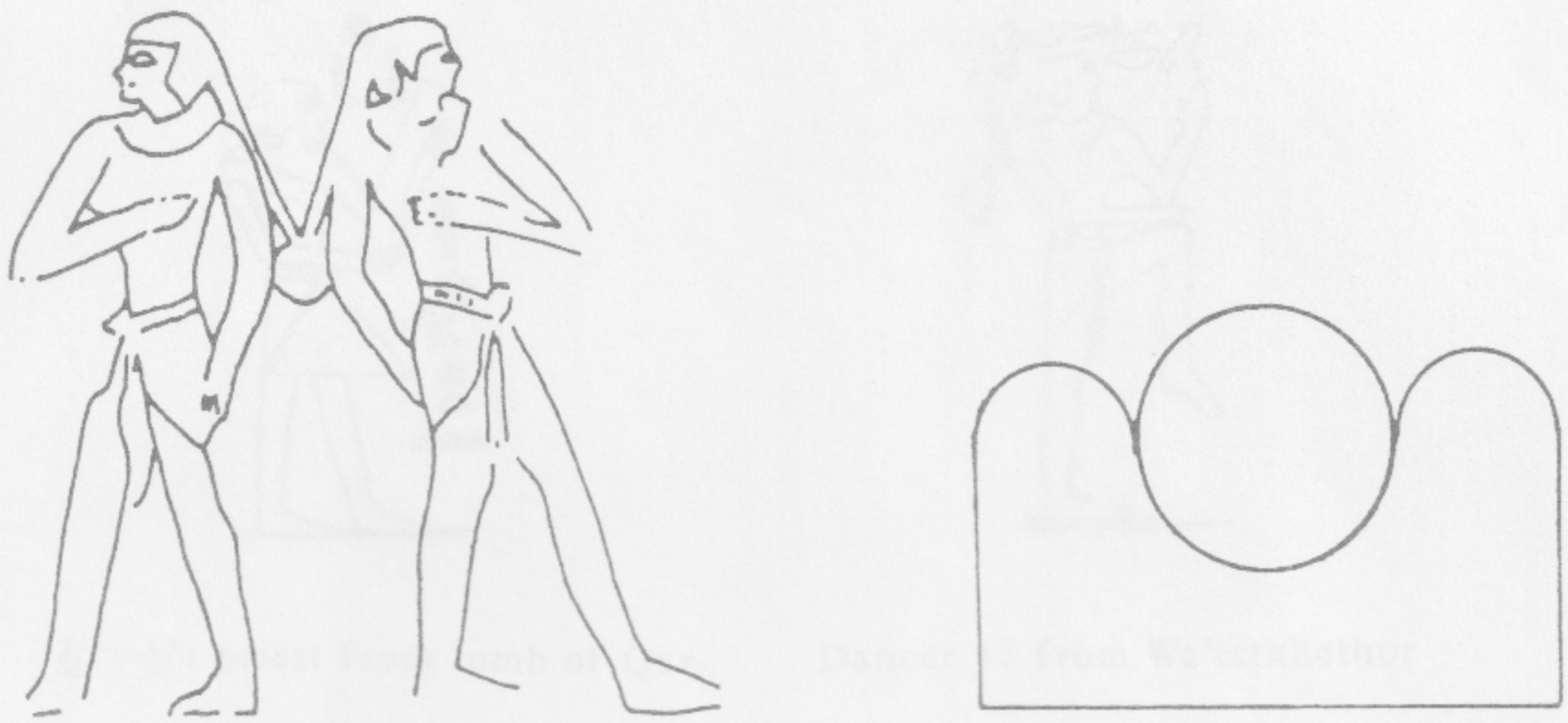


Dancers from Akhethop in the Louvre

Figure 18

Lustration scene from stela of Nḫt in the Louvre

Figure 19



Comparison between the B3-N dancer 13/14 and the 3ḫt hieroglyph

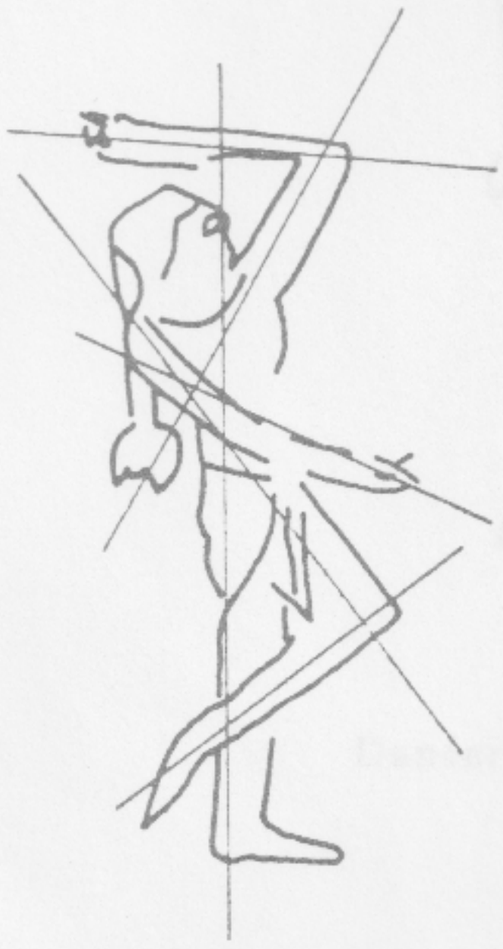
Figure 20

Ḥry-ḥbt priest from tomb of Qar

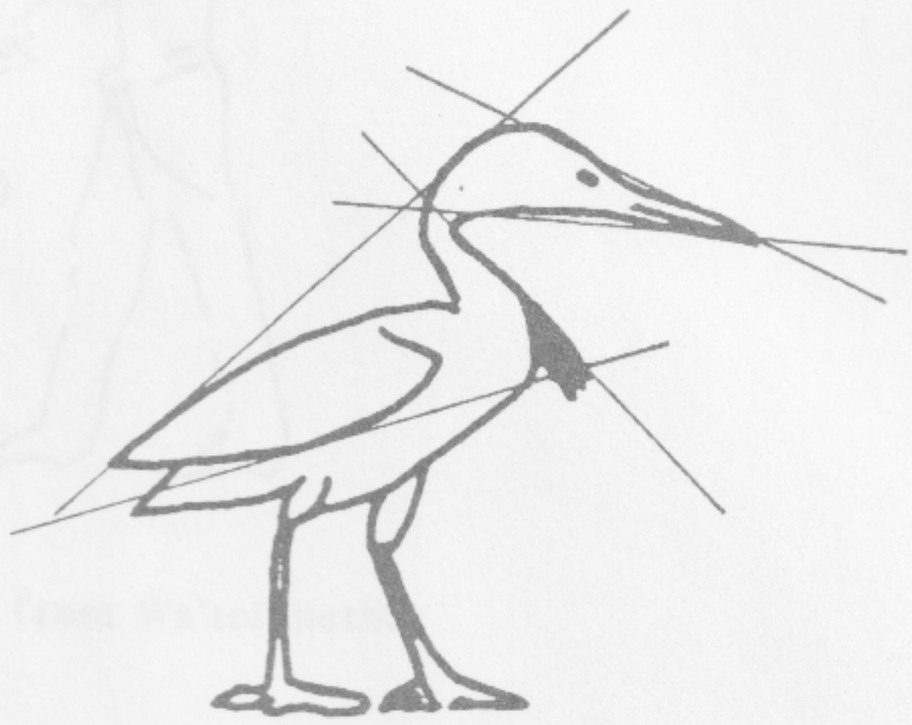
Dancer 17 from Wa'tetkhethor

Figure 21

Parallel lines and lines of axis

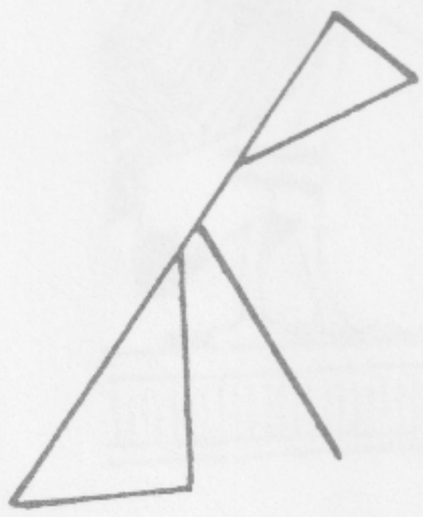


Dancer 24

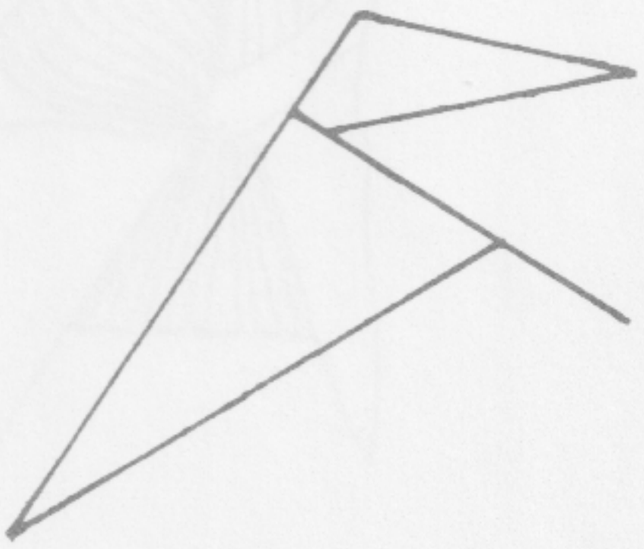


B3-bird

Resultant schematic diagram



Dancer 24



B3-bird

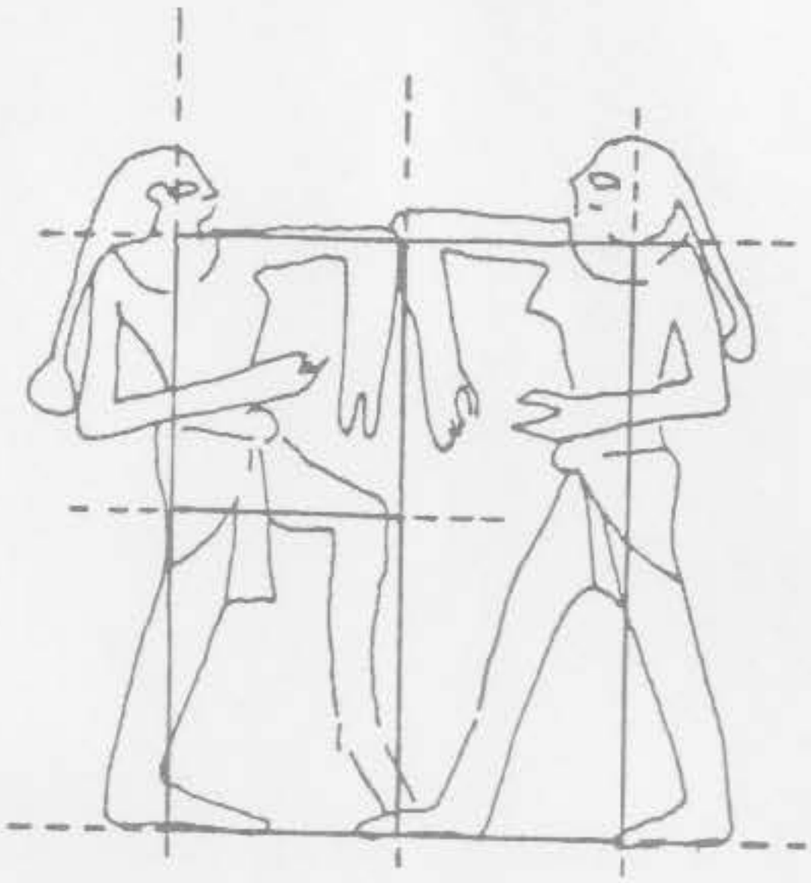
Figure 22

Dancers 24 and 25 from Wa'tetkhethor

"Adoration of the B3" from New Kingdom private tomb at Thebes

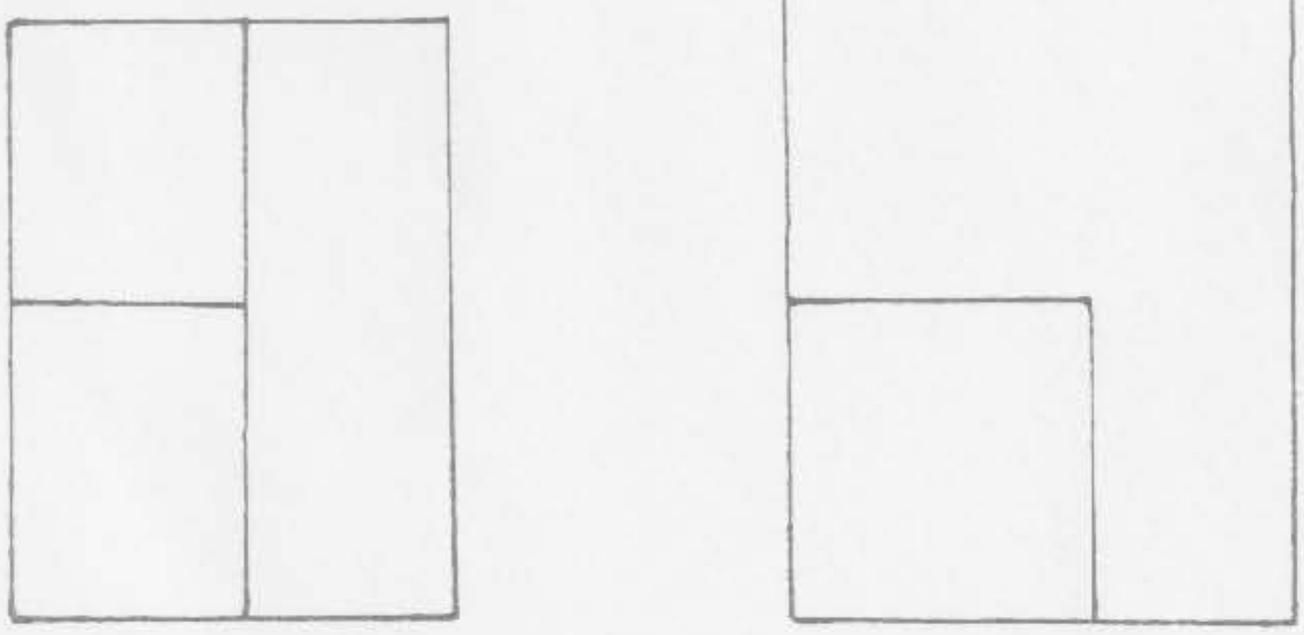
Figure 23

Parallel lines and lines of axis



Dancers 26 and 27 from Wa'tetkhethor

Resultant schematic diagram



Wa'tetkhethor

Hieroglyph for tomb

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